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SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

OF

DR. (SIR) S. SUBRAMANIA IYER

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SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

OF

DR. (SIR) S. SUBRAMANIA IYER

97994

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

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Editor, The KARNATAKA, Author of the "Problems of Indian Native States," etc.

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SUCCESS in your profession is not the only end of education. It has a higher object, that is, to prepare you to lead a worthy life in this world. Whether you shall live such a life depends, to a large extent, upon yourselves. If you ask me what are the most indispensible requisites for such a life I should certainly say "a good conscience" and "a high character":—*Convocation Address (1896) of the Madras University.*

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

The Publishers have great pleasure in offering this Volume of Dr. Sir* S. Subramania Aiyer's Speeches and Writings, to the public. Theirs being the first attempt to bring together in a handy Volume the important contributions which the great patriot has made to the literature on our national problems, they crave the reader's indulgence for any short comings that may be noticed. They have every hope that this Volume would meet with a cordial reception, and they further hope that they may soon be enabled to bring out another Volume containing his Speeches and Writings on Social, Religious, Philosophical and other Subjects.

The Publishers beg to say by way of an apology that they found it necessary to create an Appendix at the end of this

* This title has been renounced—*Vide* page 423.

Volume for the recent Speeches and Writings, (on Politics) i. Letter to Dr. Wilson ii. "Special Congress and Reform Scheme" iii. The Reply to Unjust Attack, & iv. Passive Resistance, as the pages 323-387 preceding it on Education had gone through print.

In conclusion, they are confident that the reader will not be behind to join them in expressing their heartfelt gratitude to the Author of the Biographical Introduction to this Volume. They also offer their sincere thanks to the Printers for the prompt and neat execution of this work.

Sir SUBRAMANIA IYER

K. C. I. E., L. L. D.

76th Birthday—Monday, 1st October 1917

श्रीमा नसौ विभात्यद्य भासयन् यशसा दिशः ।
धीरोदात्त स्तथा शांतो धर्माधर्मविचक्षणः ॥
वृद्ध स्तथा न वयसा विद्यया दयया यथा ।
प्रजाहिते हितं पश्यन् नृपतेः श्रीपतेरपि ॥
सुब्रह्मण्यो वरेण्योयं भारतेयजनाग्रणीः ।
जीयाद्धिताय जगतां प्रसादाज्जगतीपतेः ॥

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

I

THE illustrious patriot, a selection from whose speeches and writings is herewith presented to the public, furnishes a conspicuous example of the truth that character is more than opinion. The influence of an idea upon the popular mind depends not merely upon its own ethical or utilitarian soundness, but also—and in no less a measure,—upon the moral and practical worth of its promulgator. Emerson has defined character as "a reserved force which acts directly by presence, and without means." "What others effect by talent or by eloquence, the man of character accomplishes by some magnetism. He conquers, because his arrival alters the face of affairs." So has it been with Sir S. Subramania Iyer. There are to-day thousands—nay, millions of men in this country who firmly believe that the cause of Home Rule is a righteous cause, worthy of all the devotion they are capable of; but if, in the momentous month of June, 1917, a leader so universally revered as Sir S. Subramania Aiyer had not come forward to be the standard-bearer of *Swaraj*, it is hard to say

that the cause would have been to-day the all inspiring and all-moving national force that it undoubtedly is. The idea had no doubt, found clear and emphatic utterance long before the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant; and there were, no doubt, several staunch Home Rulers in the country to help in saving the flame kindled by her from extinction during her exile. But it was the venerable personality of the Honorary President of the Home Rule League – his high moral prestige, his unrivalled eminence as the upholder of all that is good and godly—which saved the nation from that demoralization which naturally must set in when leaders are snatched away by a terrorizing Government. Not only did he so save it; he further gave it the inspiration that it needed to continue the fight with redoubled courage and energy; so that—whether the ultimate material victory be far or near—the immediate moral victory was soon won beyond any possibility of doubt. The visit of the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu to this country, the Parliamentary declaration that preceded it, and the release of the interned that came with it, constitute the triumph of the high-souled leadership of Sir S. Subramania Iyer; and if we look at his past from this position of his leadership, his whole career would appear but as a careful and fitting preparation for it. It looks as if the high gods in their benignance presided watchfully over the life of this great son of

India and guided it along lines that have eventually brought it to its present high destiny.

II

Sir S. Subramania Iyer was a lad of 15 when India made the first startling sign of the persistence in her of the instinct of self-preservation. The Indian Mutiny was in truth not a mere rising of the Sepoys, nor a frantic onslaught of native ignorance upon foreign enlightenment; it was the self-assertion —however rude and untimely—of the nation as against the self-aggrandizement of the alien Power. The years 1857 and 1917—covering between themselves one full Hindu cycle—mark two notable stages in the history of but one principle, the principle of national self-consciousness. The interests, ideas, passions, and hopes that have electrified the air we breathe to-day, had—no doubt in a nebulous and unrefined form—begun to agitate the atmosphere in which Sir Subramania Iyer had to spend the impressionable years of youth. Born (1st October, 1842) and brought up amid the enlivening and chastening circumstances of a Brahmana family that had been spared both the degradation of poverty and the demoralization of wealth, he had access to education in English very early in life, so that his mind was open in its formative period to the energizing influences that the West had introduced. His father Subbaiyer was the

trusted Vakil or agent of the Zemindar of Ramnad (Madura District); and he was, as his popular appellation *Suravally* (whirlpool) indicates, a person of marked energy and aptitude for affairs. These qualities were the only fortune that he,—since he died in 1844,—was able to confer on his third son Subramaniam. The child of two years grew under the care of his mother who lived to see him on the pinnacle of prosperity, and who, in the early years of her widowhood, had the support of her devoted first son Ramaswamy Aiyer, who rose to the position of Huzur Sheristadar of the Madura District. Having gone through the elementary course first in a school maintained by a tailor, then in one run by a Christian Mission, and lastly in one opened by a certain Krishnaswami Chettiar, young Subramaniam joined the Zilla High School in 1856. The head of that institution, Mr. William Williams was a cultured Englishman of broad sympathies, and he was quick to discern the latent worth of his new pupil. Subramaniam was soon awarded a monthly stipend of Rs. 5 ; and winning prize after prize, he successfully passed the highest examination in that school in 1859. His name appeared in the official *Gazette* and caught the eye of the Collector of the District who, on enquiry, learnt that its bearer was a brother of his own head clerk; and very soon the successful young man was able to start his career in Government

service as a clerk on Rs. 20 a month—by no means a negligible position in those days. These various facts serve to show that Subramania Iyer's character was moulded in no dull or langorous environment. Access to new mental avenues, a generous incentive for self-exertion and an intimate contact with the general life of the country—these were the advantages that he had in the most plastic period of life.

III

The year 1857 saw the establishment of the University of Madras, and it opened out yet another opportunity for the enterprising Subramania Iyer had, while as a clerk, passed the Pleadership examination, topping the list of successful candidates; but the cross-grained District Judge of Madura —who had been incensed by an old legal practitioner of the place against likely intruders into his preserve,—would not grant a *sanad* (or permission to practice) to Subramania Iyer. However, when the Criminal Procedure Code came into force in 1862, Subramania Iyer's legal qualifications found recognition: he was appointed Public Prosecutor. But the same old cross-grained District Judge continued to hold sway; and he greeted Subramania Iyer's debut in his court as Prosecutor with the elegant exhortation: "Don't chatter like a monkey." Naturally vexed at all this, Subramania Iyer was

on the look-out for a smoother road to an opportunity of making the best of himself; and the prospects held out by the B. L. degree of the new University inspired him with fresh hope. He became a student once again, and passed the matriculation examination in 1865, F.A. in 1866, and B.L. in 1868—all by private study. This academical success secured him promotion to the office of Tahsildar; but the charms of Government service could no longer keep down the impulse that turned his heart towards an independent calling of many-sided public usefulness. Resigning the Tahsildarship, he joined Mr. J. C. Mills, an English Barrister who was also the Official Reporter, as apprentice; and within a few months he was able to start his career as a Vakil at Madura. The strong purposefulness thus shown, the forcefulness of character, the winning intelligence and the innate love of independence could not have gone unnoticed by the public of Madura, and the prizes of the race were naturally within his easy reach when once the road became clear.

It was precisely to a man of these qualities that the new spirit of the times, already alluded to, made its special appeal. By the time Subramania Iyer set up as a lawyer, the great pre-Congress patriots of Madras—Gazulu Lakshminarasimhulu Chetty and C. Poorooshottum Modaliyar—had come to the end of their noble and high-spirited labours; but

the popular grievances which they strove to redress still remained to cry for attention, and the potent ideas which they—especially the latter—meant to sow were still floating about in quest of suitable soil. The stir which began with those pioneers of political agitation continued to reverberate in the public mind, and the movements with which they were identified the establishment of schools for boys and girls, of reading rooms and literary clubs, the holding of public meetings to protest against the outrages of Christian Missionaries, and, above all, the forwarding of monster petitions to the British Parliament, like the lengthy and portentous documents sent up by the short-lived but intrepid Madras Native Association,—these various activities had chalked out the path to be pursued by a true-hearted servant of the country. Besides all these, there was the living voice of Mr. John Bruce Norton, eloquent and influential and breathing the very spirit of international sympathy and fairness. His splendid gifts of pen and tongue were dedicated to the service of the land of his adoption; and for 17 years—1853 to 1870—he was the patron of the famous Patchiappa's Institution, delivering an annual oration there, lofty alike in sentiment and expression In 1858—on the morrow of the Mutiny—he had uttered the following pregnant words:—

> "It is true that in England the cry which seems chiefly to have been struck, out of the late

crisis is "India for England," but I do but reiterate the words of one of the noblest Englishmen that ever set foot on these shores —Lord William Bentinck—when I say that the only principle to guide us for the future must be "India *for* India." There is a second proposition which is now generally admitted, that India must be governed *in* India; and to these I will add a third, the force of which is even now being silently felt, that ultimately India must be governed in the main *by* India."

All these manifestations of the New Spirit were surely not to go wasted upon one of Subramania Iyer's alertness of mind and sensitiveness of soul. We have his own words* as to what he owes to John Bruce Norton:

> "The *Indian Statesman* (*Madras Athenæum* ?) was a weekly that appeared in the fifties (under the editorship of Mr. J. B Norton). I used to read articles occasionally borrowing the journal and used to be fascinated with them. When he went to England and he was absent there, he wrote—with the initials of J. B. N.—racy letters, sometimes referring to the Tanjore Ranee's case in which he was counsel for the ladies.....(With reference to Mr. Norton's speeches at the Patchiappa's College

* Quoted from a private letter.

anniversaries) the impression they made upon me when I read them in the newspapers was profound."

IV

Sir Subramania Aiyar's patriotic ardour has thus grown in him as a natural counterpart, so to say, of the vital warmth of his heart. It shone forth with the very dawn of his mental life and flamed up with the rise of his outward fortune—rebuffs and disappointments serving only to fan it. Whatever else be the failing which detractors might discern in him, they will not find it possible to say that love of country is a new-born enthusiasm of his old age. The unseen hand that took care to provide for his material good was not less careful to feed the moral glow of his inward being. As a young man of 28, blossoming into a leader of the bar, he was afforded (1870) an opportunity to be of service to his townsmen, and for ten years he took a useful part in the municipal administration of Madura. He was likewise a member of the Madura District Board.

In 1873 the committee of the Madura Temple was found to be unable to account for Rs. 40,000 of its funds ; and it was Subramania Aiyer's fearless public spirit that took the matter to law courts and secured the amount for the temple,—whereupon he was elected a member of its committee.

Two years later, when H. M. the late King-Emperor Edward visited Madura as Prince of Wales, Subramania Aiyer was chosen to be the spokesman of the town in presenting its loyal address of welcome. And it is instructive to recall that a sum of Rs. 14 000 which remained unspent out of funds then collected from the public for the reception of the royal visitor, was utilized for the construction of a bridge across the Vaigai.

In 1877, recognition of his public work came to Subramania Aiyer in the form of a Certificate of Merit awarded by Lord Lytton. Not less important is the fact that he was called upon to appear as a witness before the Famine Commission which visited Madura in the same year; and one of the chief points in his evidence was that the peasantry stood in need of protection against the arbitrary orderings of landlords.

He relinquished (1880) his seat in the Municipal Council of Madura for a reason which is of some special interest to us at the present moment: he was suspected of having instigated the bazar-men to go on a strike because an additional tax had been imposed on them. But his proved civic zeal and popularity were such that, after two years, he was again invited to join the Council; and for two years and a half afterwards, his voice there was supreme. A public park—for the cost of which his own family is believed to have contributed so much as Rs. 4000,—

a temple-garden and a water-supply project were among the notable achievements of Subramania Aiyer in the service of his town.

His renown had now travelled beyond the limits of his District. The Government had come to recognize him as a public man whose support was worth having. In 1882, to make recommendations as to how best the policy enunciated in Lord Ripon's historic resolution on local self-government could be carried out in the Madras Presidency, a committee was appointed by the Local Government, and Subramania Aiyer was asked to join it. Among his colleagues were Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. Seshayya Sastri and Mr. P. Chentsal Rao C. S. I., both of whom rose to high positions later on. But he could agree with none of them in their disbelief in the people's fitness for local autonomy. The minute of dissent he then submitted (printed on page 6 of this volume) is a remarkable testimony to the steadfastness of his devotion to the cause of popular liberty. It exposes the hollowness of the bureaucratic boast about efficiency; it vindicates the people's natural interest in their civic and social institutions; and it pleads for the purity of non-official public life. When it was written, Mrs. Besant had not even come to India, and Subramania Aiyer had not yet joined the Theosophical Society.

V

It was in 1884 that he joined the Theosophical Society. He had just then lost his partner in life and felt the need to seek such comfort as may be found in the companionship of earnest seekers of the Truth. It was an important year for two other reasons as well: he was nominated to be a non-official member of the Madras Legislative Council by H.E. Sir M.E. Grant Duff who had seen Subramania Aiyer as the energetic Vice-President of the Madura Municipal Council; and at the end of the year he participated in the deliberations of the meeting that was held in Madras to evolve the scheme of a national assembly for India. In the following year (1885) the Indian National Congress held its first formal session at Bombay; and the Hon. Mr. Subramania Aiyer was there to throw some instructive light on the working of the Legislative Councils, out of his own experiences (page 12). This, again, is an instance of Sir Subramania Aiyer's deliberate advocacy of the cause of popular government,—long before Mrs. Besant's advent (1893) on the Indian soil.

In 1885, he found it necessary to settle down in Madras. Migration to the metropolis was naturally followed by a widening of the sphere of activity. He was appointed a Fellow of the University; and he found much to do for the *Hindu*

and the Mahajana Sabha, both started by his worthy namesake than whom South India has known no more honourable publicist. Of the Hon. Mr. S. Subramania Aiyer's work in the Legislative Council, what every one felt was thus recorded in the *Hindu*:

> "There is not another Hindu gentleman in this Presidency in whom the community has greater confidence, or who has more endeared himself to it—not merely by his attainments, but also by valuable services rendered. He is perhaps the only instance known for many years of a Hindu gentleman who has won the confidence of the Government as well as of the public... .....He made himself so useful to the Government in its legislative business that for the first time the Government learnt that an Indian gentleman could be more than a figure-head in the Council, and that by associating an Indian gentleman with itself in this important and onerous work, it conferred no particular obligation on anybody, but was seeking valuable and indispensable help in the discharge of its own duty."

The Government gave expression to their appreciation of his work first (1888) by appointing him to the office of Government Pleader—an office till then reserved for Europeans, and then (1895) by raising him to the bench of the Madras High Court in

succession to that most celebrated of Indian judges and jurists, Sir T. Muthusami Iyer.

VI

For 12 years Sir. S. Subramania Iyer continued to be an honoured figure on the bench of the High Court, thrice being raised to be its Chief. The second Indian to be given a place on the highest judicial tribunal in the land, that he was so often asked to be at its head, and that he, in fact, had to decline the unique privilege on the last occasion owing to his failing bodily health, are an unmistakable testimony to the uncommon worth of his judicial qualities. The Privy Council recognized him as "a Hindu lawyer of great distinction" and showed deference to his views. The Vakil world admired him as a judge of an incorruptible conscience and a kindly, painstaking disposition. The general public idolized him as one who never forgot to temper justice with mercy. He never quibbled and never lost the true spirit of justice amid the mazes of legal jargon. His special point was not ingenuity in the soulless technic of law, but the spacious humanity that is the vital breath of all law worth the name. The zealous social reformer who was the editor of the *Hindu* had expressed the hope "that it may be Mr. Subramania Aiyer's good fortune to be instrumental in furthering, so far as

it lies in the sphere of a High Court Judge, the cause of Hindu social advancement." The hope came true in as full a measure as opportunities permitted. In interpreting the ancient Hindu Law of Property, Mr. Justice Subramania Iyer recognized woman's inherent right to be placed on a footing of equality with man. He took care to uphold the widow's claim to be enabled to live honourably, exercising the rights vested in her by her husband. He was equally careful to safeguard the interests of morality, and laid down that a courtezan has no right to adopt a minor girl into her family for professional purposes. He it was who declared that among Hindus, though the husband is the legal guardian of his wife, he becomes entitled to have actual custody of her only after she attains maturity. In the decision of every case that came up before him, the paramount factor was "justice, equity and good conscience." These stood above all other authorities and considerations.

Every one in our day is familiar with the dictum that "liberty" and "justice" denote but two aspects of the same principle. What is known as democracy in politics is known as equity in jurisprudence. It would therefore be strange if he who, as politician, is to-day leading the movement for popular ascendancy, had forgotten, as judge, to raise his voice on behalf of the neglected womanhood and the depressed commonalty of the

land. What he was able to accomplish for the peasantry of Southern India may be read on page 252 of this volume.

The reformer who would do so much to undermine the vested interests of the bureaucracy and of the aristocracy was not the judge that would pay homage to vested interests in houses of worship and of charity. We have already noticed his services to the famous temple of Madura. It was given to him, about the time when he was Government Pleader, to set the law in motion against the Mahant or manager of Tirupati, and pave the way for its present reformed system of administration. The flag-staff of the great shrine had then been newly erected; and the Mahant, who had to deposit a quantity of gold underneath it in accordance with some ecclesiastical rule, deposited copper in its stead, and proclaimed to the world that it was gold to the value of two lakhs of rupees that had been laid at the bottom of the new flag-staff. His sense of security arose out of the hope that no daring iconoclast would be forthcoming to pull down the sacred pillar and look in for a corroboration of his statement. Mr. Subramania Iyer, than whom Hindu religious and social institutions have never had a more zealous or more faithful supporter, was however not found to be wanting in courage to rise superior to popular superstition and gullibility; and he insisted that the Mahant's

assurances were not to be taken unverified. "The maxim of law is that justice should be done though the heavens should fall: *fiat justitia ruat cœlum*. Surely, your Lordships cannot be deterred from doing justice here because the mere trifle of a thing, a flag-staff, is to fall." The reasonableness of this exhortation was seen by the judges, and on examination, the flagstaff was found to be standing supported by the baser metal. The zeal and courage thus shown for purifying temple management and securing the interests of worshippers could not fail to come into full play while opportunities occurred to them when Sir Subramania Aiyer was on the bench.

Owing to a persistent eye-trouble—rather, owing to a conscience that was too sensitive to leave him untroubled if he undertook to do a duty for which he could not spare the requisite energy, even if that be only energy of the optic nerves—he asked for permission to retire from the service, which he did on 13th November, 1907, though he could easily have managed to pull on somehow for another eight months and earn an annual pension of £1200 instead of the present £ 880. The Governor in Council, in a *Gazette Extraordinary*, placed on record his appreciation of the "eminent services" rendered by Sir S. Subramania Aiyar, K.C.I.E., during his long term of office as a judge of the High Court. It was further said:

"The high judicial qualities, the independence of character and the profound learning which he has at all times displayed throughout his long and honourable career have earned for him a name which will long be held in reverence and esteem by the Government and the public."

In 1896 he had been made a Dewan Bahadur; some time later a C.I.E.; and in 1900 a K.C I.E. He had in 1896 delivered an inspiring address (page 323) to the graduates of the year at the Convocation of the Madras University in whose welfare he always took a keen personal interest. He pleaded for the lightening of the student's burden, for the minimizing of the evils of examination, for the diffusion of liberal culture and the extension of higher education. These services to the University found hearty appreciation, and he was honoured with the office of Vice-Chancellor—an honour not extended to an Indian till then. In 1908 the *Alma Mater* conferred the highest honour in her gift—the degree of Doctor of Laws—on "the Nestor of her graduates (as the Sir Subramania Aiyer Lecturer to the University in 1914 put it) in honouring whom, every one, from the highest in the land, may feel that he is only honouring himself."

VII

In the earlier years of retirement, the impulse that sought to fulfil itself was the sovereign impulse

of the soul. Indeed, his passion for the things of the spirit may be said to be at the bottom of all the other high-soaring passions of his life. Devoted as he always had been to the study of the ancient scriptures of his religion and to the unravelling of their mysteries, he could give more time to the contemplation of their truths and the cultivation of their asceticisms now that the robe of office had been finally thrown out. But the spell of *Yogi-ism* could not, in the very nature of things, last for any great length of time. To no deep-seeing soul has religion ever meant the abandoning of all concern for the ills of fellow-beings. On the contrary it has seemed to every such soul that religion would be an utterly barren and worthless thing—a mere sop to silence the conscience—if it were not to result in an energetic pursuit of the task of human betterment. It is Sir Subramania Aiyer's religious zeal that has given permanence to his interest in the reform of the system of administration of religious and charitable endowments (p. 187), and has led him to organize and direct the *Dharma Rakshana Sabha*—a registered and recognized body to examine the accounts and report upon the condition of temples and charitable institutions. It is the same zeal that has inspired his moving appeals for the liberalizing of Hindu social institutions, and prompted him to organize conferences of Pandits—like those held at Conjeevaram and Tiruvadi,—for modernizing their

outlook upon life. It is the same zeal that breathes in his messages to the youth of the country; see his addresses to the Students' Convention (p. 340) and to the students of the Law College (p. 362). It is, again, the same zeal that is sustaining his faith in the potent value of Indian nationalism as a force for the good of the race. It is the same zeal that has secured his allegiance to the cause of democracy which—as pointed out elsewhere—is to him nothing else than the practical working out of the sacred principle of brotherhood. And it is, naturally, the same religious zeal that impelled him to go forward to take the place which he—and he alone—could have taken among the forces of Home Rule with the utmost possible consequence.

He who had assisted at the birth of the Congress in 1884, and had, seven years later, to decline the invitation to be its President, returned to its service in 1914 as chairman of the Reception Committee at Madras (p. 21). But the highest call for which, in the dispensations of the Unseen Ruler of nations, his life was so solicitously tended, amid circumstances of such varied significance and with so many marks of inward excellence and external good fortune, was yet to come. It came at length when his friend and comrade who had so successfully begun the work of restoring sensitiveness to the nation's mind was taken away by a too self-confident bureaucracy. It was then—in May,

1917—that the angel of freedom called upon the nation to prove its mettle; and on how it would come out of that ordeal depended the entire hope of its future At that fateful hour of trial, the leader who alone could give unity and direction to the nation's energies emerged in the aged and fragile figure of Sir S. Subramania Iyer. Every one at once knew what it meant: it meant that a grave crisis had arisen in the country, that the self-respect of the nation was at stake, and that it was no longer right to leave the cause of emancipation to a small and limited group of public workers—the larger public remaining indifferent. One that had won the confidence of the Sovereign in the highest degree, had held one of the highest offices of State, and could have had no manner of personal grudge against the Government, and one, too, who had been steadfast and unostentatious in the country's service, whose mind and morals had been refined and perfected by manifold experience, whose fine character and practical good sense had elicited universal admiration,—such a man, at a stage of life when political controversy and tumult would be the last thing agreeable, came out of his seclusion and declared that the early establishment of Home Rule is vital to the welfare of the country and that he was prepared to face any penalties that might follow his decision to work for that ideal—which, he believed, was the ideal prescribed by God (p. 5). This struck

the popular imagination as nothing else could have. It was the triumph of Sir Subramania Aiyer's personality. Unquestioningly, instinctively, the nation rallied around the veteran and paid the homage that is due to purity and loftiness of character. Truly, as Emerson has said, men of character "do not need to inquire of their constituents what they should say, but are themselves the country which they represent; nowhere are its emotions or opinions so instant and true as in them; nowhere so pure from a selfish infusion."

Of those to whom it was ever given to help forward their fellow-men a step or two in the direction of light and liberty, history discloses two types: the prophet and the statesman (using these terms in a very general sense). The former, coming to preach a new idea or an unfamiliar principle to an unsympathetic world, triumphs only in his failures. To move the public so prepared, the statesman appears on the scene at the opportune hour and fulfils the purpose for which the martyr's life was laid. What the prophet initiates, the statesman consummates: martyrdom and opportunism (in the best sense) are complimentary processes in the progress of reform. To Sir S. Subramania Aiyer belongs the distinction of being among those whom destiny appoints

> "To know the seasons when to take
> Occasion by the hand and make
> The bounds of freedom wider yet"

With a mind capable of broadening with age—undoubtedly one of the true insignia of greatness—

a mind which has ever been open to new forms of truth and ever ready to re-adapt its conclusions in the light of fresh experience, with unrivalled prestige won as a favoured servant of the Crown, and as a devoted servant of the Motherland, he was made by nature and history alike to be the leader of the popular upheaval of our day.

VIII

It would seem superfluous to recount here the multifarious items of public work that have received from the crowning years of Sir Subramania Aiyer all the energy and enthusiasm of youth. Scarcely has a week passed without his presiding over some public function or joining in the settlement of some public controversy. The publishers of the present volume must have been bewildered indeed at the extent and range of the speeches and contributions to the press out of which they had to make their selection. Not politics alone,—education, literature, industries and social reform are all having their due. He is as ready to assist at the starting of a *Swadeshi* enterprise, or the founding of a national college, or the opening of a public choultry, or the celebration of some patriot's or poet's anniversary, as he is to speak a fearless word against some arbitrary act of the Government. Once he wrote to one whom he has honoured with epistolary privileges :

" My compliments to our chemist friend whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making.....

It is men like him that the Motherland wants for her industrial uplift. Please excuse my asking you to remind him—I want a catalogue of his preparations."

Another time, he wrote in introducing a clever lock-smith who was in search of an employer:

"He has a genius for his work, and possibly he might find scope for it in the only place where there is genuine encouragement for industrial improvement. As I know how you sympathise with everything that will conduce to the progress of the Motherland, I venture to give you this trouble."

These privately expressed sentiments show the man. The Motherland is his chief interest. Politics is only one of the means.

Generally, the whole life of a great man is found to be dominated or pervaded by one towering quality of the head or of the heart. It may be will-power, it may be intellectual daring, it may be search for an unknown ideal, it may be philanthropy, it may even be the desire for popularity or for fame. In Sir Subramania Aiyer's case, it is magnanimity. It is his nature—not design or effort—to be magnanimous; and even his seeming failings are to be ascribed to that natural and unchanging nobleness of soul. As householder, as member of a profession, as citizen, as public man, the keyword to his conduct has been

" large-heartedness. " He has helped large numbers of young men to educate themselves; and in fact, no student in difficulties ever went to him without obtaining the needed means of relief. The Ranganatha Mudaliyar Memorial Hostel, now called the Victoria Hostel, owes its existence to his initiative, which of course was backed up by a handsome subscription. While he led the bar, his juniors had an ample share in his prosperity; and it was his hand that lifted the late Mr. P R. Sundara Iyer and the late Mr V. Krishnaswami Iyer from comparative obscurity to the eminence that they at length occupied. The late Swami Vivekananda, when his object (in the course of his Madras speech) was anything but to praise Theosophists, felt it necessary to speak of

> " Mr. Justice Subramania Aiyer to whom my deepest gratitude is due. He has the insight of genius, and is one of the staunchest friends I have in this life, a true friend indeed, a true child of India."

The active interest he is showing in the movement to perpetuate the memory of his late friend Mr G. Subrahmanya Aiyer is another instance of his genuine graciousness of nature. During the days of Mrs. Besant's internment, he must have received hundreds of letters containing all manner of enquiry and suggestion from all parts of the country—from leading public men, obscure followers, enthusiastic

youngsters, humble day-labourers, those who would pray and those who would fast, those who would collect money and those who would offer a picture or a song. None of these could complain that he or she was not vouchsafed a reply—and that in the most courteous and touching terms. Accessible to every one, hearty with every one, he is setting an example of that spirit of brotherliness without which neither religion nor democracy can be true and beneficent.

A nature that is so artless, so sincere and so ardent in its devotion must necessarily be as quick to be moved to indignation. Since all speech proceeds in such a case out of the fulness of the heart, the expression of disapproval must be as full-mouthed as the expression of sympathy or appreciation. Hence the occasional note of vehemence in Sir Subramania Aiyer's speech when it concerns those who seem to him to stand between the country and what he considers to be her rightful destiny. It is perhaps inevitable that impulsiveness should sometimes lead to judgments that may in calmer moments appear to be unduly severe; and it is just possible that a seeming and unintentional "lapse from his rule of magnanimity" may have occurred once or twice. But he who would read such pronouncements of a passing mood as careful statements of attitude or as unalterable records of opinion reads them wrongly, —reads them without understanding their author.

A word may be said here about Sir Subramania Aiyer's letter to President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America (p. 389). The letter was written during Mrs. Besant's internment,—when the whole country was seething with excitement,—as the result of an idea that suddenly cropped up in the course of a conversation between Sir S. Subramania Iyer and Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner who were American journalists of distinction and Theosophists possessing pro-Indian sympathies, then sojourning at Adyar. They offered to rouse public interest in America for India's cause, and undertook to convey any representation that the Honorary President of the Home Rule League might have to make to the head of the United States Government. With regard to the propriety of Sir Subramania Aiyer making any such representation, it is enough to note that the august addressee,—who is, to be sure, a friend of England and also a professor well versed in international law and ethics,—saw nothing objectionable in it and thought it worth his while to take action thereon; and he had with him the whole of the American public. Great Britain has not resented Dr. Wilson's intervention on behalf of Ireland; why then should she resent his being appealed to by India? In the next place, it is necessary to note that it is no complaint against British supremacy in India that Sir S. Subramania Aiyer has addressed; it is simply a protest against

British indifference. He is full of reverence for the British Crown, full of faith in British democracy, and intolerant only of the methods of government pursued by the officialdom in India. He seeks the good offices of the President of the U. S. A., not for the impossible and unthinkable purpose of overthrowing the British Power, but only for the purpose of still further consolidating that Power,—the peculiar title of Dr. Wilson to be honoured with such an appeal being his declared position as a friend of international liberty and of democratic progress As for the language of the memorial, it must be remembered that it is the peculiar privilege of the propagandist and the agitator (using these terms in the best sense), to speak out in a direct and pointed style, leaving the graces of convention to formal assemblies and ceremonial occasions. Long, rolling sentences, abounding in conditional clauses and parenthetical reservations, might be all very proper in a legislative chamber. But if the speech or the writing is to tell immediately, it should hit off the whole situation in a few bold and vivid phrases; and that is what every great reformer, from Jesus Christ downwards, has done—and done with some success. Of cautious men saying goody-goody things in a namby-pamby style, the world has always had a plenty; and the reformer who comes to enliven the soul and quicken the understanding must necessarily employ spirited and

arresting language. The style shows the man,—it is said; and the saying is proved by the fact that Sir S. Subramania Aiyer is a man conspicuous always for his sincerity. His is not a feeble and colourless personality so that he could be careful to express himself in an innocuous, milk-and-water style. He is nothing if not a strong and courageous man,—strong in love and strong in hate, strong in loyalty to truth and right, and strong in denouncing anything that is not of good report. Quite recently, the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastriar, whom Sir S. Subramania Aiyer has not spared, remarked publicly that "no one ever appealed in vain to Sir Subramaniam's sense of justice and generosity whether while he was on the bench or when he was outside." If such a man, the very "soul of honour" as Lord Ampthill described him, if he should be tempted to use strong language, it only means that there is something grave to be looked into. The late Mr. Gokhale once said:

> "Every one knows that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is one of the gentlest men to be found anywhere in the world. When such a man is driven to the use of bitter language, there must be something in the situation to make him so bitter; and the responsibility for his bitterness must, therefore, lie not on him, but on those who make the situation what it is."

IX

There are, of course, aspects of opinion and conduct that have not been touched upon in the above paragraphs. But the attempt here made is not to compass all the points of the subject and deliver a verdict that would be final. After all, as a famous preacher once said in respect of Gladstone, "we believe in no man's infallibility; but it is restful to be sure of one man's integrity." It is this quality of integrity—purity of purpose and steadfastness of devotion—that entitles Sir Subramania Aiyer to our deepest respect and admiration.

Our object in this sketch has been simply to direct attention to some of those great traits of character that invest the speeches herein collected with a permanent interest for the Indian public. They record the working of a mind generously endowed by nature and variously enriched by study, glowing with pure emotions and possessing keen insight into practical affairs, frank and yet forgiving, elevated, earnest, truthful, Godward-bent. They are not the effusions of one who is an agitator and nothing more; they are the self-revelation of a personality that combines all the fascinations which culture, self-discipline and loftiness of aim can lend. They are distinguished by a certain stateliness of style, an unmistakable dignity of sentiment and a compelling force of logic, which every one aspiring to be a public man would do well to imbibe.

One of the dangers of a nascent democracy lies in its demagogues. When popular excitement runs high, the upstart and the hot-gospeller will surely make their appearance and hurl down their shining shibboleths and fiery rhetoric from a hundred platforms. But a reflective mind will not take long to perceive that under such leadership, the destiny of the nation will be nowhere. The wise friend of democracy is he who early realizes the value of deliberation and study, and strives to avert the reign of shallow knowledge and vaporous speech. In this respect, the precept and example of Sir Subramania Aiyer deserve to be constantly remembered. He has said, "Avoid the mistake of supposing that whilst even for the simplest handicraft a long apprenticeship is necessary, none is necessary for taking part in the difficult work of governing the country or making its laws." He has never consented to be described as a leader, and has repeatedly said that he is only a follower;—and all will agree that he is not the person to be charged with mock humility. He has never grudged time and labour for the study of the questions he has to deal with, and he has never been careless, or ambiguous, or obscure in his utterance. It is said that soon after his appointment as a Judge, he returned to the study of English grammar and spent one long vacation having Bain's treatise as a companion. Our public life will gain much in quality if our rising politicians

will learn a little of his modesty, his earnestness to learn and prepare, his love of general culture and his lucidity and definiteness in expression.

Above all, his are speeches that have played a part in the making of history. The historian of the future, when writing about India's struggle for freedom, will surely not find it possible to ignore the name and work of Sir Subramania Aiyer. It would be no more than a sober statement of fact to say that the beloved name of "Mani Iyer" was a household word throughout the Madras Presidency long, long ago. To-day, he is the first to be counted among the patriarchs of his nation, the Nestor of our public life, the worthy successor to the throne vacated by the great Dadabhai Naoroji. May he long continue to reign in that position, to guide and inspire his countrymen in their high-souled pilgrimage.

BANGALORE CITY,
7th June, 1918.

D. V. GUNDAPPA.

NOTE.

For information regarding some facts of Sir Subramania Aiyer's early life, the writer is indebted to the biography issued years ago from the "Wednesday Review" office, and also to the sketch appearing in the volume of Messrs. Ganesh & Co. The writer knows how ill-qualified he is for his task; but the Publishers' invitation was too pressing; the privilege it offered, too tempting. He is particularly glad that two articles on the question of the Native States have been included in this collection. The one entitled "The Spirit of Brotherhood,"—originally published under the title of "The Shrine on the Sea-shore" or an hour at the Beach House,—might have more appropriately appeared as an appendix. It may be read also as a sequel to the above character-sketch.

POSTSCRIPT.

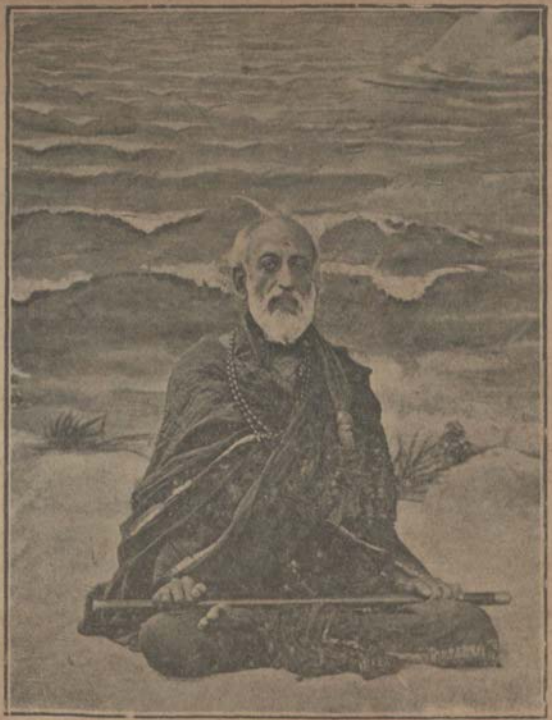
Subsequent to the printing of the biographical sketch, a dramatic event has happened in the life of DR. SIR S. SUBRAMANIA AIYER—to name him in the old style for only once. With reference to his historic letter to President Wilson of America, Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, chose to make an altogether unparliamentary remark in the Parliament on the 3rd of June 1918; and that naturally drew forth at once a characteristically dignified and manly reply from the misjudged knight. The nation—in all parts of the country—has risen to condemn the ill-natured ebullition of the Secretary of State, and has reaffirmed its confidence in its own venerated leader—who has lost no time to follow up his reply to his accuser with suitable action. He has renounced the titles of Dewan Bahadur and K.C.I.E., so long and so well held by him, because his conduct has seemed to be "disgraceful" to the accredited spokesman of those who have conferred those titles. One cannot be at once a knight of the realm and a malcontent declared to be unchivalrous by a minister of the realm. Either Dr. Subramania Aiyer is guilty of a grave wrong and therefore no longer deserves the once-deserved honour; or Mr. Montagu's judgment of him is a grave wrong and therefore until he is compelled to eat his anathema, the insulted cannot reconcile his sense of self-respect with the holding of a gift made by the insulter's approving masters. This is the plain issue; and Dr. Subramania Aiyer has, in acting as he has done, not only stood by the primary right of citizenship—namely,

to criticize the Government and appeal if necessary, to the enlightened conscience of the whole world,—but has also illustrated the Indian's characteristic readiness to throw away all the vanities of the world when they stand in the way of the higher truth and right. Mr. Montagu and the Editor of the *Madras Mail* were evidently not aware of the stuff of which Dr. Subramania Aiyer is made when they, hoping to coerce him into silence, made threatening references to his position and his titles. They thought that he would hug his K.C.I.E., and shed a sea of penitential tears over his supposed crime. But those who have known him know full well that he is not the man who would give occasion to his followers for lamenting;

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat;
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us.
Lost all the others she lets us devote."

D. V. G.

DR. SIR S. SUBRAMANIA IYER, (*As Judge.*)



DR. SIR S. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

LOYAL DEMONSTRATION.

[*Speech as President of the Loyalty Meeting, in Madras—August 1914* :—]

We are met to give expression, at this critical juncture in the affairs of the nation, to our unswerving loyalty to our august Sovereign and his benign Rule. Though the occasion is great yet it is unnecessary for me to detain you with a long speech. For India has already spoken on the subject with a United voice. It has declared in no uncertain terms its absolute devotion to the rule with which our very existence, as a people, is bound up indissolubly. As we know the war is one which affects the safety of the Empire to which we belong, and is thus such as it were touching the person of every man, woman and child in India. Moreover it is not a struggle prompted by motives of aggrandisement but has been provoked by the flagrant breach of solemn engagements by a power which has for some years been a constant menace to the peace of Europe and a great part of the world. No wonder therefore that our Ruling Chiefs, Maharajahs and Rajahs are vying with each other in proclaiming

their readiness to stand by and support their Sovereign, their Liege Lord and their personal friend; and we, the people, should not in our turn lay behind in our duty. No doubt such help as we can render at this hour of trial will not be from a material point of view so substantial as that which would be forthcoming from the people in the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies, for they are rich whilst we are poor.

Nevertheless we shall not be wanting in our readiness to make sacrifices, and when the need arises we shall, like the sepoys under Clive, be content with rice-water and spare what little grain we possess to those who are fighting for us. Just a few words more on one point. Though this war will inflict incalculable harm on all the parties concerned, yet out of such evil good must come and will come. One of the advantages which India will gain may be said to have already accrued. For no one however malicious he may be will, in future, be able successfully to suggest doubts as to our loyalty to the Empire. No one can hereafter twist our representations, as to our wants and requirements as ebulitions of deep discontent and hidden disaffection. And this to my mind is no small advantage, as it will conduce to render the relation, between the Indian people and the great British nation one of true brotherliness. And I trust, I may without inappropri-

ateness, add that nothing will contribute to make the tie unbreakable than the grant, in due course, of a concession which is uppermost in the minds of most of us at this moment.

I am sure I am but giving audible expression to the wishes of the most thoughtful and the most devoted of His Majesty's Indian subjects, when I say that they will consider nothing a greater privilege than to be allowed to serve their Sovereign as Volunteers. They will hold it an honour superior to that of a seat in the Executive Councils, and even in the Council of the Secretary of State. Their fervent appeal is: "Trust us and that trust we cannot betray and we shall never betray." It is to be hoped that the spontaneous out-burst of loyalty which took place the very moment this news of war reached India, from one end of the country to the other, will serve at no distant time to that appeal being favourably entertained and a concession granted which will raise us in our estimation, as well as in the eyes of the world at large, whilst at the same time the concession will prove a source of strength to the Empire that will not be negligible. In the meanwhile let us improve our chances of success in this matter of all-absorbing interest to us by diligently showing in every act great or small our fidelity to our Sovereign and to the nation which has conferred upon us inestimable blessings.

TO MY COUNTRYMEN.

[*The weighty pronouncement and appeal protesting against the speech of H.E. Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, in May 1917* :—]

We have all read the speech of H. E. the Governor of Madras to his Legislative Council, in which he foreshadows measures for the suppression of the Home Rule propaganda, and asks for the support, in the measures taken, of all who have personal or hereditary influence. I answer that appeal, being a responsible public man, having held high judicial office in the State, having been recognised and rewarded by the Crown and honoured by my University, and being an old man, of trained caution in coming to a decision, and of mature judgment. I therefore think it is my duty to the Government to state my position.

Before I was raised to the Bench, I was a Congressman, and to me Self-Government, or Home Rule, is no new thing. I believe, and have long believed, that its early establishment is vital for the welfare of the country and the stability of the Empire, and that it is therefore necessary to carry on a constitutional and educative agitation for it, as ordered by the Congress at its last session. Believing thus, I gladly accepted the Honorary Presidentship

of the Home Rule for India League, honorary only because my health forbids active and strenuous work. I cannot retrace my steps ; I will not resign my office, even if the League be declared unlawful. I am ready to face any penalties which may follow on my decision, for I believe that the time has come when God, in whose Hands are all earthly Governments, calls on India to assert that right to Freedom which He has given, and to claim Self-Rule—in the words of the Congress—in the Reconstruction of the Empire after the War. To defend Home Rule is to me a religious as well as a civic duty, and this duty I will discharge. I call on you, my countrymen, to do the same.

MINUTE OF DISSENT.

[*To give effect to Lord Ripon's Scheme a Committee was appointed in 1882 by the Madras Government to make recommendations on Local Self-Government and Sir (then Mr.) S. Subramania Iyer dissented from the Majority Report* :—]

I regret I cannot concur in the report of the majority. I shall state my reasons briefly and confine myself to a few salient points.

(2) The whole of Chapter III* is, in my opinion, conceived in a spirit very different from that of the Resolution of the Government of India. An unwarranted disbelief in the fitness of the people of this Presidency to receive a real extension of Local Self-Government, and an exaggerated notion of the dangers likely to arise from the Collector-Magistrate ceasing to be the President of Municipal Commissions pervade and characterise most of the recommendations of the Committee. The suggestion of the Committee that the Collector-Magistrate should continue to control Municipalities from within not having been adopted by the Government, and the Committee apparently not having been convinced of the soundness of that course, they have been led to make recommendations which,

* Proposals for the extension of Local Self-Government in Municipalities and in the Rural Tracts.

I think, unmistakeably point to a desire on their part to impose much stronger restraints than necessary on local bodies supposed to be on the eve of securing greatly extended powers.

(3) The recommendations of the Committee virtually take away from the local bodies the only real power, *viz.*, the control over the purse. The Committee propose that the law should fix the proportion of expenditure on particular services, and that such provisions of the law should be enforced by the "High professional officers of Government." Now, the object of the Resolution of the Government of India is to foster local interest and local responsibility, and to leave local bodies less fettered in their movements, except it be for the purpose of preventing them from running into dangerous or illegal actions, and thereby to develop reliance in themselves and capacity for Self-Government. "The better definition of the duties and responsibilities of the Commissioners and the greater powers of control and correction" proposed by the majority of the Committee are, in my opinion, likely to frustrate and not promote that object. The proposal really comes to this. If the Collector-Magistrate's control from within cannot be secured, let a stronger force operate from without. Instead of one officer on the spot, perhaps sympathetic, there shall be many unbending professional men hundreds of miles away. The result will practically be to vest the administra-

tions of Municipal and Local Funds in certain departments of Government, with these high professional officers really governing them. Feeling restrained on all sides, the Commissioners will take little interest in their work. The meetings will not be attended, and the whole scheme will prove a failure.

(4) In this connection, I should not leave unnoticed the "Devasthanam episode" and the observations of Mr. Venkataramana Pantulu thereon, adopted by the majority of the Committee. I cannot admit that the so-called "Devasthanam episode" furnishes any fair ground for presuming any incapacity on the part of the people to manage their own affairs. I believe, in regard to Devasthanams, the fault lies with the Government. The extensive endowments and property belonging to these trusts were suddenly handed over, without the necessary precautions, to irresponsible persons, and when the inevitable result of that course followed, it was attempted to be remedied by a most faulty piece of legislation, bringing into existence a machinery altogether unsuited to secure efficient working and steady progress. Under the Act, the Committee is not given a Chairman to regulate its deliberations. No rules for the meetings of the Committees or transactions of its business are laid down. There is no Executive officer to carry out its decisions. Once appointed

or elected, a person became a member for life, heedless of public opinion ever after and secure in his place, except when reached through the cumbrous and expensive processes of a Law Court. In these circumstances it is a wonder that the Committees have gone on as well as they have done, and that the institutions should not have decayed altogether. As a matter of fact, there have been very few instances of misconduct on the part of the Committee Members. Misconduct of hereditary trustees, not subject to any real control by these Committees, has often been attributed to the inefficiency of the Committee themselves. A great deal more can be said in this matter in general, but the above, I trust, will suffice. The very records of the Madura District and Subordinate Courts, in regard to Devasthanams of the District relied upon by Mr. Pantulu, will show what interest the local public take in endeavouring to expose and rectify Devasthanam mismanagement. The temple in Madura affords strong proof of the advantages of securing non-official local management. During the forty years that the Madura temple was under the charge of Government, I believe not even a fourth of a lakh of rupees was spent in its improvement, whereas, within the eighteen years that it has been in the hands of the Committee, no less than five lakns of rupees have been expended on the improvement of the

temple, a fifth of this sum alone being contributed by the Committee, and the rest by the public. This I must mention, is due solely to the exertions of Non-official Members of the Committee and of the chief mercantile classes of the district.

(5) There are various matters of less importance on which also I differ from the majority of the Committee. Of these, however, I shall notice but a few.

(6) I think that in the present state of the country every available rupee should be spent on primary education and many years should elapse before it can be said that such education has been sufficiently attended to. I think also that it would be throwing unnecessary labour and responsibility on Municipal Committees and Local Boards to compel them to provide and look after middle education. Besides, it seems to me a little premature that this committee should be making suggestions in view to legislation on education whilst the Education commission is still sitting and the results of their labours are not given to the public.

(7) I am also strongly opposed to the nomination by Government of the Divisional officers as Vice-Presidents of Taluk Boards. If this were done the Divisional officer will have all in his own way, and the Boards will exist only in name.

(8) I am equally strong against any remuneration being given to the Chairman or Vice-President.

That funds will not allow of adequate remuneration being given is admitted. The comparatively small allowance that can be given would, in my opinion, contribute only to lower the dignity of the office in the estimation of the people. Further, it will tend, I think, to introduce corrupting influences in elections and bring to the front men who will care more for the paltry emoluments rather than for the honour of the office.

(9) I shall conclude by stating that an enactment in the lines proposed is sure to be received by the public with considerable disappointments and disapproval.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

[*In seconding a Resolution on the reform and expansion of Local and Imperial Legislative Councils at the First Indian National Congress held at Bombay in 1885, Sir (then Hon'ble Mr.) S. Subramanier spoke as follows*:—]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I rise with great pleasure to second the proposition just proposed to you by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Telang, especially as I see that there is no need to make a speech in support of it. Gentlemen, my friend has so well exhausted all that could be said on the subject and has so completely anticipated me that I really have nothing to add to what he has already told you in such elegant and convincing language unless I mean to paraphrase to you what he has been saying and thus mar the effect of his speech. He has pointed out to you the defects in the present constitution of these Councils and has indicated to you the nature of the remedy to be applied and the lines on which reformation should proceed. He has sketched out to you a scheme which is perfect in its details so far as it goes and withal so feasible, that if we but succeed in getting Government to recognise it as practicable, we need not yet despair of a bright future. As he has himself admitted the scheme is

not put forward as a panacea for all the evils, but I have no hesitation whatever in saying that it would go very far indeed to minimise the evil to a considerable degree. Having said this, I am almost tempted to sit down and make over the balance of my ten minutes to my friend, Mr. Naoroji, whom I am sure you will all be anxious to hear at some length. But before I sit down I think I may say a few words which will enable you to judge to what opinion I myself incline. Though my connection with the Madras Legislative Council has not been quite as long as Mr. Telang's in Bombay—I have been only a year in it—I think I may fairly claim to have had sufficient experience of its working to enable me to form an opinion as to their utility. I should not fail to admit, however, that the actual working of these Councils is enveloped in somewhat of a mystery and to one outside it, it is a puzzle how it is that the Non-official Members are so little able to do good of any kind. Naturally enough they come in for a good round of abuses. I myself on many an occasion, when bad laws enacted laid the whole blame on their shoulders, and indulged in rather severe criticism of their actions. It was not till I myself became a member of the Madras Council that I saw how unjustly our friends in the Council were censured in the majority of instances and what little influence they possessed in the Council either for good or for evil. With the best

intentions in the world, I may assure you, Gentlemen, they find themselves in the wrong place, and so long as the present constitution of these Councils remain unchanged it is idle to expect that these Non-official Members will prove of any great use to the country. The misfortune is that these Non-official Members are not allowed to feel any responsibility, and, even if some of them assume it, no opportunity is given them to render themselves useful. I do not say this in any captious spirit and I disclaim all intention of giving any offence. Somehow or other, these local Councils have become so altered in their constitution that they have altogether lost their original character, and I do not think that they now answer the purpose for which they were originally designed. Whatever may have been the intention with which these Councils were constituted at first and whatever doubts may be entertained now as to their present constitution, I do not suppose there can be any doubt that they at no time possessed a representative character. For some time past these Councils have been so worked as to render them by no means efficient even as exponents of non-official opinion. If one carefully noted the successive laws that are enacted by these Councils one would plainly see that the functions of these Councils are limited to registering the degrees of the Executive Government and stamp them with legislative sanction. I

am willing to agree with Mr. Telang that there is an element of usefulness in these Councils which might yet be utilized to our advantage. Admitting that, I am sceptical whether any material good will result from these Councils, so long as the present system of the executive settling beforehand for all practical purposes in an irrevocable manner the principle of all measures that are introduced into these Councils is maintained. It appears to me that I might say, without breach of any confidence, that during the short time that I have been in the Council, I have not experienced any difficulty in getting my suggestions adopted if only they related to details. Every suggestion that I made was received with great consideration so long as it did not trench on the principle already determined upon by the Government. So far as that goes, I must do the Government the justice to say that they are not only anxious to hear non-official opinion, but they also try to adopt it as far as possible consistent with the principle of the measure. The drawback then, as I just now pointed out, is that the principles of the measures that are introduced into the Councils are previously determined by the Government, behind the back of the Legislative Councils as it were and the difficulty of the Non-official Members consists in their not being able to modify them in any manner. The difficulty lies in this, and I am glad

that Mr. Telang has thrown light on this aspect of the question. I must concede that it may be difficult to counsel Government of the real extent of this evil and whatever difficulties there may be in convincing Government that the scheme that is now put forward is practicable. I do not think that there is any difficulty in bringing home to them the necessity of reconstituting these Councils on a popular and a representative basis. I am afraid I have taken more of your time than I properly ought, especially as my good friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, whom I feel no doubt you are all impatient to hear, is to follow me. I will not therefore take any more of your time and I do not believe that, before I sit down, it is necessary that I should formally commend the proposition moved by Mr. Telang for your acceptance, as I do not think there can possibly be two opinions on the subject.

THE POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE.

[*In seconding a Resolution on the subject at the Second Session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1886, Sir (then Hon'ble Mr.) S. Subramania Iyer spoke as follows*:—]

It is my pleasant duty to second the proposition which has just been moved and to my mind it seems to be very fitting that Mr. Wacha should propose and I should second this Resolution for we come respectively from opposite sides of India. Certainly the poverty of India, if it can be demonstrated at all, to my mind seems to be capable of demonstration in respect of the Madras Presidency. At one time it was the boast of administrators in my part of the country that it was administered under the *ryotwari* system and not the *zemindari* system. I believe the history of the *ryotwari* administration has led to the conclusion that it is better to have a system of *zemindari* administration with all its faults, than the *ryotwari* system. It may be that the Zemindars, as is believed by some, do, in some cases, screw out every farthing that they can from their tenants, but the Zemindars, as we have seen, can be reached by a Tenancy Act, whereas in the Presidency of Madras it is impossible to control by any Tenancy Act the extortions

of the Revenue authorities. (loud cheers). I should like to see a Government servant, on our side of India, who is prepared to admit that the right of enhancement ought to be defined and limited by legislative enactment as against the Government. (Cheers). Then, with reference to the *ryotwari* districts in the Madras Presidency, there is this to be said : I constantly talk to my friends and ask their opinion as to the question of poverty. Our worthy Chairman has proved it, as far as possible, to an unbiassed public, and the Government itself has admitted, that the country is poor. But there are some, nevertheless, who affirm that the country is growing richer, and the other day I asked one of them why they thought so: he referred to the enormous exports of rice, jute, oil-seeds and an infinite variety of other raw produce. As far as Madras is concerned we do not profit by exports and the high rate of exchange; we have no cotton and no jute to export; at all events, therefore, so far as the thirty millions of people and more of the Madras Presidency are concerned, the question of poverty is exactly where our President left it, and the Government, as a fact, have admitted it. It is, therefore, fitting that I should rise to support this proposition and assert that my part of the country is certainly entitled to be described as a poor country. Now, how is this poverty to be got rid of. I do not say directly and immediately by represent-

ative institutions, but if there is one system more than another under which we are more likely to be able to improve the administration of the country and devise and ensure the adoption of measures to get rid of poverty, it is the system of representation. Our worthy President has demonstrated the poverty of the land, and has done his best to keep this matter before the public in and out of India, and we, the representatives here of all India, endorse his views, but at present with no apparent results; and what we are now aiming at is to obtain, for this voice of India, a legal status. (Loud cheering). Very often it is said that we ask for things for which we are not fit, but that seems to me to be altogether begging the question. It is not any particular kind of representation for which we ask, we do not claim representative institutions in the fully developed form now enjoyed in England. All that we want is the recognition of the principle of representation. (Cheers). To that extent, therefore, it seems to me that there is hardly any question, unless it be said that we are not fit to receive representation in any form whatever. This very assembly completely proves that we are, (loud cheers), since no one would, I presume, pretend that, when the required privilege was granted to us by the state, we should deteriorate and prove less incompetent to discuss public affairs wisely than we now are. It cannot be said that the people are not sufficiently

advanced to receive the boon of representation in some form or other, for that would be inconsistent with what has already been given to us in the existing local Councils, in which there is, at any rate, a pretence of representing the Indian community by two or three Indian members. Unless it can be said that there was a mistake, it seems difficult to contend that we are not also entitled to representation in some form or other in the larger matter of administrative Government. With these observations, I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CONGRESS

[*Sir S. Subramania Iyer, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 29th Session of the Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1914, rising to welcome the delegates was received with an outburst of applause and he made the following prefatory remarks, before calling upon Mr. K.N. Iyah Iyer to read the Address on his behalf. At the conclusion of the Address he was garlanded amidst loud and prolonged cheers. He said:—*]

I rise to discharge my duty as Chairman of the Reception Committee, a duty than which none more pleasant or honourable has devolved on me in the course of a fairly long life, the duty of welcoming you to this, the 29th Session of our National Congress. According to the custom which has come into vogue, that duty is taken as not confined to greeting you with a few well-chosen words. It is taken as involving the expression of the Chairman's opinion upon some at least of the questions of the day in which Congressmen are interested. Furthermore, that opinion is taken as meant not only for the ears of the audience he is actually addressing, but also for those of a wider public, some sections of which are not always disposed to be friendly critics. The opinion has thus to be the result of careful thought

and expressed in terms which would stand a fair amount of criticism. Naturally, therefore, Chairmen of the Reception Committees have had to resort to what has been spoken of sarcastically as "written eloquence" and in obedience to custom I have also written out my address to you. In doing so, however, I do not fail to remember that the time at your disposal is extremely limited and that during that limited time you have to get through a heavy programme. I have consequently endeavoured to make that address comparatively short, and even if the whole of it is read it will not take more than 30 or 40 minutes of your valuable time. In order, however, to reduce it further I shall, with your permission, omit the reading of at least those remarks which relate to one of the subjects dealt with—the question of the continuance of Congress work. As you are aware, this question has been discussed within the last two or three months from every conceivable point of view in the columns of the "*New India*" which has been doing yeoman service to our cause under the editorship of that noble soul whose marvellous power, ability and knowledge are being consecrated for the good of our motherland. On a subject thus discussed I can scarcely have anything to say which has not been better said a dozen times. Nevertheless I have devoted a little space to the subject in order that my opinion on it may be on the record of the Congress,

speaking as I do on this occasion in an official capacity, but that is no reason for taking up your time by reading my remarks about it. The best apology that I can find for the use of written arguments on occasions like this is that they are the special weapons of the bureaucracy which sits heavily upon this country; and Congressmen, who are endeavouring to lift some of that dead weight, must use the same weapons to a limited extent remembering at the same time that is not the natural method most suited for our purpose. The best use of that method was perhaps in the very first Congress meeting; and on that memorable occasion even the President was in a position to speak straight to his audience and spoke admirably too. Some of the speeches still ring in my ears, as for instance those made about the Resolution which I had the privilege of seconding. The mover was that brilliant man, Kasinath Trimbak Telang, (hear, hear and applause), than whom none was better able to keep his audience in rapt attention. The supporter was that most venerable of Indian patriots, Dadabhai Naoroji, who, I am sure, is now here present in spirit showering his blessings upon us. (Hear, hear). Their words were clear cut to the point, full of thought and relieved by touches of humour which put everybody in the best of spirits. I note that it is not everybody that can be a Telang or a Naoroji, but it is open to all to cultivate the art of speaking fairly well. Let us

remember that we have to deal not only with a bureaucracy but with a democracy also. It is among our primary duties to spread among the people a sound knowledge of their rights and responsibilities and there can be no more potent instrument than the art of clear and effective speech. The air is thick with suggestions as to the improvement of Congress methods and it is strongly argued that Congress speakers generally should bring expert knowledge to bear upon the subject of their speeches, but it will be an evil day if they also should take to written eloquence. I trust that the many able young men of the rising generation who are thirsting to serve the country as Congressmen will diligently cultivate the art of effective speech, not of vapid eloquence. Trusting you will pardon this little digression, a digression intended to indicate to you my objection to subjecting you to the necessity of listening to the reading of my whole speech, and with your permission, being myself unable to read it, I ask you to permit the first and last portion of it to be read on my behalf by one of your delegates and my friend and relation Mr. K. N. Iyah Iyer who from his boyhood has been of help to me. (Loud Applause)

*The full text of the address from which extracts only were read by Mr. Iyah Iyer is as follows:—

OUR DUTY.

On behalf of the Reception Committee I most cordially welcome all, and every one of you, friends and delegates, from the different parts of India to this 29th Session of the Indian National Congress. It is scarcely necessary to say we are meeting on the present occasion under the most exceptional circumstances, having regard to the continuance of the war which involves the very existence of the Empire. Whether at such a time it was not right that this Session of the Congress should be held, formed as you are aware the subject of consideration in certain of our circles. The suggestion that the Session should not be held, of course, proceeded from the anxiety felt everywhere in India, that, during the continuance of the hostilities, nothing calculated in the least to embarrass the administration here or elsewhere should be undertaken and carried out. It is gratifying, however, that the suggestion in question, though it proceeded from the best of motives, failed to find acceptance. Had it found acceptance, we should have, in my judgment, unwittingly made a serious blunder. For, we would have lost a golden opportunity of giving expression in our united capacity as Congressmen to our unswerving devotion and attachment to His Imperial Majesty, His Throne and His House at this hour of extreme trial and peril. We should have also failed

to avail ourselves of such an opportunity to make known to the world that we regard with the deepest admiration and reverence the heroic effort now being made in the cause of right and justice, of civilization and human progress, by the great nation to which we owe all the peace and safety we enjoy. Nay, we should have laid ourselves open to the charge of ingratitude to our protectors in not coming forward to manifest our sympathy with them, whilst they are thus engaged in this holy struggle. Furthermore, our omission thus openly to avow our support to the Imperial cause was likely to be twisted by such fanatical calumniators of the educated Indian as Sir Valentine Chirol, and others of his temperament, as pregnant evidence of our undisguised disaffection to our rulers and even sympathy with the enemy. There cannot be a doubt therefore that it was rightly decided to hold the Session, and I am sure that what we say and do during this sitting will amply demonstrate that, among His Majesty's Indian subjects, none are more loyal to Him than we, the representatives of educated India; that none have done more to dispel misconceptions in the minds of the masses due to the war; that none feel more confident that eventually complete success will attend the British arms and those of the Allies; and none more fervently wish and pray to the Almighty for such success.

In my addressing you as Chairman of the Reception Committee, I trust I may be excused if, contrary to the precedents set up sometimes by my predecessors, I do not enter into an elaborate discussion of the matters likely to come up for your consideration. A general review of the leading events of the year since the last Congress, as well as a preliminary reference to the actual work at the impending Session, will, of course come best from the President of the Congress. It strikes me that one, discharging my present duties, may occasionally abstain from entering into a criticism of those matters to be debated by the delegates themselves. For my part, I shall content myself with drawing your attention to certain matters, which must be borne in mind by all interested in the work of the Congress and in the future progress of the country.

The first matter, I refer to, is the greater co-operation of the members of the landed aristocracy in the work of the Congress. Though they may be unwilling to play the role of platform speakers, yet they may well lend their great weight in support of the Congress movement in various ways. It seems to me that, for more reasons than one, we should strive to secure for our work the full co-operation of men of this rank in Society. First, such co-operation will, at all events, tend to disarm the criticism that the Congress movement is not representative

of that prominent section of the community, which has a real stake in the country. Next, this section owes to itself and to the country at large, that the members thereof, as a body, should no longer hold themselves aloof from the national work, which has hitherto been done without their full help and support, and from which work they have not failed to derive substantial advantage. But for that work, the right of electing representatives to the Local and Imperial Legislature would not have come to them. Again, they were the first to profit in this Presidency and elsewhere by the important concession secured by our persistent agitation in regard to the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils. Is it then anything but just and fair to ask that they should freely come forward and participate to a greater extent in what we have been so long doing for the commonweal with no small difficulties to overcome? And, therefore, should not some of the junior members in their families, who have an aptitude for political study, systematically apply themselves to it, so as to take their due share in the efficient performance of the national work so incumbent on all, even more specially on this section of the community. For, no one can doubt the arduous character of the task which devolves nowadays on a delegate here or on a representative of the people in the Legislative Councils. Speaking from

personal experience as a Congressman and a member of the Madras Legislature in the eighties, I unhesitatingly say my work in those capacities was as child's play, in comparison with what persons in similar positions have now to do. The variety, importance and complexity of the subjects to be mastered by them require so much study, thought and intellectual capacity, as to make it possible only for a few to adopt such a public career, if its duties are to be ably and conscientiously performed. Inasmuch as the Members of the aristocracy possess the leisure and competence so helpful, if not indispensable to the career of a politician, has not the country a pre-eminent claim on them for the valuable services they could render to it ?

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION.

The next matter is as to the importance of the improvement of the village life as the organic unit in all matters bearing on the beneficial administration of the country. One now hears much about the renovation of village life. But, in truth, is there any such life to renovate ? I think not. The village, as a corporate entity is not only, as some think, moribund but long since dead. The chief agency in the perpetration of this tragedy, in so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, has been the *ryotwari* system. I say this with all the respect due to the

great administrators who have managed to make that system the perfect thing they wished it to be from their own point of view. Whatever the virtues and merits thereof from such a point of view, it is certain that it has operated to root out the very faculty of spontaneous conjoint action for communal purposes on the part of the rural population. This population now only consists of individuals, each of whom, though busy looking after himself, is altogether useless for any common beneficial purposes, except when moved by the official hierarchy within whose grip, as it were, he lives and moves and has his being. Real political progress in the country is well-nigh hopeless, unless and until a radical change is brought about in the existing state of things in the rural tracts. Such change can only be effected by a sustained effort on the part of both the people and the authorities. That a net work of village committees consisting of elected members, existed under the Chola dynasty in its wide dominions and managed most things concerning the well-being of the local public, are facts established by the unquestionable testimony of Epigraphy. That the talent for rendering similar service is still not quite extinct in the people is shown by what the co-operative movement is daily revealing. And if only that talent is again afforded an opportunity and scope for its exercise and is fostered with the care and patience needed for its revival, the good which will follow

will be incalculable. Any apparent lack of public spirit in one or other of the sections of the community is, of course, no excuse whatever for not making a vigorous effort to create it. For let us remember in this connection that the capacity and qualifications of the next generation will be far superior to those of this generation, having regard to the rate at which we are moving on. As regards this question of village organization in this Presidency, though it is 5 years since the Decentralization Commission submitted its proposals regarding Village Panchayats, nothing tangible has been done. A beginning should be made at once, and the best way of doing it will be to put an officer of good standing on special duty, to start these institutions in selected tracts and develop them. Considering the paramount importance of the work, it would not be a bad idea to have a Director of such Panchayats for the Presidency, who would discharge in respect of this branch of public business, functions more or less analogous to those of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies with reference to his own department. Such a Director should be able to move among the people freely, speaking their language and arousing their enthusiasm by personal contact and influence. If he be a man truly in sympathy with them, and acquainted with their habits, customs and prejudices, he will have no difficulty in developing the institution, the utility

of which is conceded on all hands. In short, he will be a veritable protector of the rural inhabitants in the province, and one such is greatly needed. Unless exceptional efforts of the above description are made, things will continue as they are to the great detriment of public interests. The pressure of the daily duties of the Government is such as to leave little disposition on their part to turn to this new departure in the administrative work of the country. It behoves us therefore constantly to keep the subject before their minds that it may not lapse into oblivion.

Nor must it be forgotten, in dealing with the revival of village life, that if we form a village administration, there must be something to administer. The ryot must be delivered from the burden of past debts by the establishment of such Loan Societies as are working so well in Bombay; and he must be saved from the necessity of incurring new debts by a wisely arranged system of advances, the making of Storage Societies for grain, and—most important of all—by such fixity of tenure as may secure to him the results of his labour, while reserving to the State a lieu on such part of the increase in the value of his land, which may be due to communal progress.

I now proceed to say a few words in regard to the suggestion that the work of the Congress came

to an end when the Legislative Councils were established on their present footing. This suggestion has, of course, been already rightly and strongly commented on again and again. I advert to it here only to add my emphatic protest against it. Our Congress does not partake of the nature of any of the species of Indian vegetation in which the parent disappears with the appearance of a progeny. The intention of the wise originators of this institution was that, like the Banyan, it should continue to live and nourish the off-shoots taking root and growing round the parent stem. That intention it is our solemn duty to carry out to the last. Each Congress session should be the centre whence the impulse of the spirit of Indian Nationality goes forth at the end of one year to vivify the people during the next. Leaders of thought in the various provinces should meet, as they have done, on a common platform of service to the Motherland, and, by rubbing shoulders there with each other, shake off the narrowing instincts arising from their local environments. In other words, these leaders should thus keep their feeling of unity free from the smothering influences of the heresy of separateness, which is as pernicious and deadly in the domain of specialised politics such as ours, as it is in the higher and wider domain of ethics and religion. Nor is this all. No doubt, our Councils have done well during the short

period of their existence. The elected representatives are so using their opportunities as to create a high hope that the interests of their constituents will continue to be watchfully attended to and advanced. But, at the same time, it should be remembered that the scope of their usefulness as elected representatives is, as yet, very limited. Furthermore, there are many questions of so general and fundamental a character, in relation to the whole country, as to render the meeting and personal conference and consideration on the part of the leaders from time to time absolutely necessary. We cannot therefore but repudiate the view that the assembly of the Congress is nowadays superfluous and mere waste of energy. No thought of its dissolution can be entertained until we are far nearer to our goal—that of India becoming a self-governing dominion under the Crown. While, therefore, the institution must continue to live and flourish in spite of those who would end it prematurely, it is time that its machinery is remoulded and improved so as to make it really effective for the expression of thoughtful Indian opinion on matters bearing upon the well-being of the whole community and as an instrument for the dissemination of sound knowledge, respecting those matters among the masses. Consequently it is necessary to arrange for the carrying on of our work throughout the year systematically and as a first

step towards it for raising the money needed for the purpose. One suggestion as to this is that a body, under the designation of Congress Supporters or the like, be brought into existence, each member thereof paying a subscription, say of Rs. 25 per annum. I presume it will not be difficult to find in each province a few hundred of such subscribers. The amount collected thus should be used towards the continuous work as just stated, the expenditure connected with the annual meeting being met by special subscriptions raised in the particular province concerned. The said general fund should be held and administered by few trustees duly appointed, who should further be clothed with a corporate character by registration under the law, so as to make them really competent to receive and hold for the Congress donations and endowments which, it is to be hoped will not be long in coming. If we are unable to do even the little indicated above, that would be a confession of absolute unpreparedness to make any sacrifices whatsoever with reference to our political advance. How then can we look upon ourselves with any self-respect particularly while we are at this moment actual witnesses to the wonderful spectacle of property and the most cherished possessions, nay life itself, being literally flung away as if they were the veriest trifle for the sake of national honour and national existence by all classes

and grades among the British people, with whom we hesitate not to claim equality in the Empire? Surely, until we come to learn to emulate to some extent at least such magnificent qualities of those truly gifted people, with whom Providence has so fortunately linked us, all hope of political progress on our part must indeed be vain. And it is this which we should lay to our heart deeply, and I trust we shall not fail to do so.

WORK BEFORE US.

Now, before passing from this subject, a few words may not be out of place as to the fact that, for some little time past, a certain waning of enthusiasm is observable among the Congress workers. I see nothing very abnormal in this. No doubt, the genesis of the Congress was traceable to what may be spoken of as the first flutter of the spirit of Modern Nationality in this ancient land. Manifestly, the growth of that spirit has to proceed under extraordinary test conditions. To begin with, it involves co-operation on the part of the communities widely separated for centuries by race and language, religion, habits and ideals; and while the aim of these communities had for ages been a state of changeless ease, incessant activity forms, as we know, the dominant note of the new civilization now overtaking them as it were against their will. Added to this, there is the fact that the surroundings are

quite discouraging. For example, some of the influential sections of those whose models we are trying to adapt for our own purposes, instead of helping us with the advice which their experience should enable them to give, take pleasure in throwing ridicule upon our genuine efforts, and are constantly trying to misrepresent us and discredit us. It is also to be remembered that this is the very first transition stage in the Congress movement. The thirty years which have elapsed since it began is, as you know, the period usually allowed for a generation. Just think how many of that older class of ardent patriots and able men, who rendered yeoman service in connection with the movement, have passed away one after another, causing vacancies which have not as yet been filled up by a sufficient number of fit successors from the ranks of the incoming generation. And of the few veterans still left, it is scarcely reasonable to expect the same hard work which they were able to do when much younger. A slight lull at such a transition period and the supineness attributed to us, which is perhaps due mostly to the elation and distraction resulting from the success that has attended our movement, particularly with reference to the Councils, seem not to be very dangerous symptoms. But we must wake up, and like the potentate who, with a view to his being stirred up to the diligent performance of his daily

duties, arranged to be warned every morning that man was mortal, we should constantly remind ourselves of the uncomfortable truth stated by Lord Curzon, with much lively satisfaction to himself, *viz.*, that as yet no Indian nation had come into actual existence. Not even one-hundredth part of this Nation-building work has yet been attempted. How then can we relax our energies instead of redoubling them? Renewing our vigour we must go forward, with the unalterable conviction that our future labours are bound to be far more fruitful than the little we have done in the past. For, the cause is great and worthy of every sacrifice, and if our watchwords are, as they ought to be, indomitable industry, preseverance and patience, all we desire and deserve will follow as the day follows the night.

I now proceed to the remaining point on which, most likely for the last time in this life, it is given to me to address such an assembly. I trust the way in which I am going to unburden myself about it will not bring on me reproach from any quarter. That point is our attitude to our rulers. This is doubtless an old theme not much liked in certain circles to be discussed. But my justification for presuming to talk to you about it, is the aspect in which it presents itself to my mind in the light of recent occurrences in South Africa. I mean those in which our great compatriot Mr. Gandhi and his devoted band displayed qualities which have secured

everlasting credit to them. When their oppressors were themselves in trouble, our countrymen returned not hate for hate but good-will, and thus won immeasurably from the moral point of view, however small their success may have otherwise turned out to have been. This event has lessons for all concerned. The chief among them for us is what bears upon the question of the attitude that I just spoke of. Now, the precise lesson which the said Colonial episode conveys in the present connection is that our attitude to the rulers should be one of perfect inward friendliness even under the most trying circumstances. In thus asking our people in their ordinary political life and relations, virtually to give effect to that supreme teaching, given 25 centuries back, that "hatred ceaseth not by hatred, it ceaseth by love," it may seem to many even in this land, where it was so taught, that I am making an extravagant if not an impossible demand ; especially so when one thinks of how what we believe to be our common rights as loyal subjects of His Majesty and citizens of the Empire, have been denied to us with impunity. But that the demand is no other than that which our peculiar circumstances warrant will be seen if the part India has yet to play in the Empire is properly understood. That part I venture to submit is quite special. In a word, it is no less than that of a teacher. Startling as this state-

ment may seem to some, I feel there is a truth in it which makes it right for me to place it before you. I do so the more willingly, since to us, as earnest and humble workers wishing to take part in the great task of Nation-building here, nothing is more important than that we should have before us with reference to that work, a characteristic ideal which our environments and inherent tendencies point out as one fairly capable of realisation. Now, there is surely no *a priori* improbability in the supposition that this cradle of the eldest branch of the Aryan race will reach the front again, and its children once more become the chosen instrument for the spread of some great fragments of Ancient Wisdom among the children of the younger branches, who, while great in their own way and custodians of much other knowledge of the utmost value to all, have yet to learn those fragments from the right quarter and in due time. Though, as I have had occasion to say, no Indian Nation is actually in existence, and though only the first throb of its life has as yet been felt, there are cogent reasons for thinking that its evolution will be on a line *sui generis*. Now let it be remembered that we, the teeming millions of this continent-like country, are by the iron hand of the all-engrossing white races effectually barred from attempting to found colonies —as our forefathers did and of which traces are to be found even now in such distant islands as the

Philippines and Java—in any of the boundless unoccupied regions of the earth, and are thereby rendered incapable of developing the many qualities such new foundations would call into play. That, whilst so shut out from growth outside our own birth-place, we possess in a remarkable degree an aptitude for quick and orderly progress, that we are keen in intellect, and inoffensive and deeply religious in our nature,—these facts cannot admit of doubt. Nor can there be a question that these high natural endowments are being diligently cultivated under the rule which is steadily weilding us into a great and unique unit, socially, economically and politically. In such circumstances does it not stand to reason that in our collective capacity we must have some higher work to do than money-making and such other ordinary pursuits, absolutely necessary though these latter are? What then that higher work of ours is, is a question which will occur to any reflecting mind. And what better answer to it is discoverable in our surroundings, than the one I have made bold to suggest? Such being the case, the next question will be: Of what nature is our way to this higher work of ours, to our higher destiny? The obvious reply is that in the course of things it will be narrow and not smooth. In treading so special a path anywhere, we should have to guard against all stimulation of that brute nature inherent in man

which, sad to say, makes persecution almost a pastime for mankind. Humanity claims to be in the vanguard of progress, yet hunts out helpless fellow-subjects, seeking but a bare livelihood by the sweat of the brow, as if they were animals fit only for chase, as if the very sight of them were unbearable, and their presence a pestilence. We are, however, treading the path on a soil hallowed by the glorious teaching of the Master of Compassion, Gautama the Buddha. We have therefore much more to do than only keep our animal and selfish propensities in check. We have to assimilate among other things that vital teaching of the Master, as to the power of love over hate, meant alike for ordinary men and women, for nations and communities, and for humanity at large. We have to grasp that the divine quality of the former imperatively demands the full recognition of the essential unity of all life—human life in particular—while hate, as the denial of that unity, is injustice, pure and simple, the unfailing source of misery and pain. Lastly, we have to live up to this noble teaching and, by the example of our life, inculcate it among that erring section of our brethern who, giddy with their new prosperity mistake the colour of the skin for the hall-mark of the soul, trample on older people as if they were an inferior creation, and unmindful of the duty owing to those gentler folk, scruple not to turn the advantages of

race and country towards the gratification of their own selfish ends. Such in my humble judgment is the special work that lies before us in the not very distant future. Nor is it difficult to see why this should happen to us, just now. For, at this hour of the world's travail, no other Eastern people are quite as available as we are for the task of carrying the Light whichever has to travel from the east to the west. As for the bright and sprightly children of the land of the Rising Sun, they have but just put their hands to the great and interesting game for which Fate has long been silently nurturing them. That game of Orient *versus* Occident will take some time before it is played to a destined point. And until then these versatile children cannot be spared for any other work. As for the at-present unwieldy and immobile followers of Confucius, they have apparently much untoward Karma to work out, before they can be thought fit for fresh good work. But we who come next geographically have manifestly done with the evil side of our Karma. We have done that by severe penances in the shape of much blood-letting for centuries and by the deepest meditations on the vanities of mere-appearance and on the profoundities of Reality. And so there was no choice left to the Spirit of history but to select us as the instrument in more senses than one for repeating itself. But in doing so and sounding

out once more the message of good-will amongst men that Spirit happily for us is going to introduce a decided improvement in its procedure and unlike the chosen race on the last occasion in Palestine we shall have the privilege of standing compacted into a mighty whole and taking our rightful place among the nations of the earth within the Empire, which is the regenerator of ancient peoples, the champion and defender of the weak and the oppressed and the firm upholder of loftiest ideals in the great art of Sovereignty and Government. It is then we who shall make our beloved Aryavarta the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown in reality, as it is only now in name, shall make it such not so much by the splendour of its material wealth as first by the absence in us of that devouring greed for the exploitation of all the sunny spots on earth to which must be traced the origin of the 20th century Huns, that latest variety in the western human species, and next by the presence of unbounded compassion, brotherliness and peacefulness born of that clear vision of man's spiritual nature which is never allowed to be totally lost in the east, and in general by the superiority and excellence of culture of the head and heart, in every way so as to make these traits the ear mark of our contribution to the civilization of the world at this epoch of its history. Let us then with all earnestness strive towards our goal seeking all the

perfections that would befit it including the one desired by every lover of the Motherland, I mean the martial development which is as indispensable to a nation as physical culture is to an individual. For surely without the one and the other, neither the nation nor the individual can respectively exist in the condition of health and vigour, efficiency and virility which is the birth-right of both; towards which end the formation of regiments of Indian Volunteers and greater liberty as to the possession of arms are among the necessary steps. It must be obvious to all that the possession of military capacity by His Majesty's Indian subjects on an adequate scale cannot but prove a real source of strength to the Empire itself. But at the same time it must be remembered that in seeking however the above *sine quâ non* for the fulness of national life, it will not come until we inspire the implicit confidence that what is so capable of misuse in unwise hands will ever be absolutely safe in our own. And it is as to this specially that the South African incident, more than once alluded to, will be found to possess a very real significance. For what can conduce more materially towards the arousing of the confidence just mentioned than the attitude of our countrymen, the sterling value of which was so strikingly illustrated by that incident—an attitude of perfect amity and friendliness buoyed up by an invincible faith in the ultimate triumph of justice.

It was their attitude which, to be sure, made it possible for our gracious Viceroy to raise his sympathetic voice at the hour of the greatest peril to our cause. And it was this same conduct that made it impossible even for the obdurate Colonial autocracy to allow the situation to remain the scandal to the boasted civilization of the west that it had been for months and months. Another phase of the moral to be drawn from the incident, I have been commenting on, refers to the quantitative power of the will, if I may so express it. Amplified a little, it is this: if the will of a handful of resolute men, exerted without overt acts of violence or injury, has enabled them successfully to resist gigantic tyranny and wrong, by compelling an unwilling public opinion, as it were throughout the civilized world, to cast its vote in favour of the oppressed passive resisters, what cannot the will of hundreds of millions of our people accomplish by its own sheer force, without the least resort to any militancy, if organized and turned towards the attainment of our legitimate national aims and aspirations? It is only, when that is a fact and an actuality, that our adolescence will be reached and the ills to which infancy exposes us cease. Try then to hasten the advent of this worthy adolescence. Try it by forgetting differences, and dropping every trait which will tend to divide. In a word, unite and unify. But now pause for

a moment to consider whether this is anything more than the old old tale of a quantity of faggots having to be bound together in order to become unbreakable. Simple as this thought is and old as the hills, how difficult is it to act upon! Is it not because, at the bottom of it all, lies concealed hate in its subtlest form? What else but hate makes for the conflict between the Moslem and the Hindu, the Brahman and the Panchama, the Andhra and Tamil, the white-man and the coloured? How are we otherwise to account for this sort of religious hate, caste or social hate, language hate and colour hate which last bids fare to beat the first in its ferocity and frenzy at their very height in the past? Surely this was why the sublime teaching 'hate ceaseth not by hate but by love' was vouchsafed through supreme wisdom. Pray reject not that teaching as Utopian, unpractical, and unrealisable. For it was realised, as already stated, to perfection in the midst of famine and unspeakable suffering by our own countrymen. Let us then profit by that unique object lesson; unite and reap the manifold blessings which will follow in its train. Friends, these are a few of the thoughts suggested by the memorable episode which has tempted me to inflict upon you so wearisome a talk.

CONCLUSION.

I would here most gladly conclude but that in justice to the difficult subject, which I have taken upon myself to drag into discussion, I feel I ought lightly to touch upon a couple of objections which may occur to certain matter of fact minds. One of them may be that if my advice under this last head is to be followed, it could not be only for the ethical considerations urged. The first answer is that such considerations cannot be left by us quite in the cold in judging of the question; for if it were right for us to do so, it will be equally right for the other party; and yet many of the important claims we make on that party more or less involve these very considerations. The next answer is that apart from all such considerations the attitude advocated will possess the very special merit of a high expediency which cannot but weigh with all. For it will not only day by day tend to bridge the gulf that would otherwise continue to widen but will also appeal as nothing else could, to the conscience of the great bulk of the nation which holds in its hands our entire future; and it will readily evoke from those powerful hands that response which alone can complete the stupendous good work already done by England for us. The other objection to be noticed will proceed from those who argue that I have vainly raised this controversy without anything in the existing conditions which calls for it. I would say

to these friends that they would be quite right but for the grave situation which has been created by the thorny subject of colour prejudice so much in evidence for some time past. Though this trouble began and was at first confined to a part of one of the Colonies, yet it has managed to spread all round, and has even found its way to some extent into the very heart of the Empire. Its effect naturally on the temper of our people has been such as to make one apprehend that unless the prejudice is kept in check by rightful means, it will, as time goes on, result in much racial disharmony here and elsewhere. We must however not be wanting in discrimination as regards the responsibility of the Central Government in the matter. However clear and unquestionable from the point of mere theory and abstract justice our right of emigration into the colonies and equal treatment there may be, yet it is idle to expect the mother-nation to attempt to enforce such right of ours except by persuasion. That this method will be most willingly made use of whenever necessary in future, may be taken for granted having regard to the settlement arrived at in South Africa at last. The recent utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy as to the advisability of the introduction of 'Reciprocity' in the matter of emigration constitute a further ground of hope of a reasonably favourable settlement of this subject. And in responding to the kind call for opinion which His Excellency

has been pleased to make, it is our imperative duty to strengthen his hands to the utmost of our power so as to enable him to secure a solution honourable to us in the matter. Turning to the difficulties arising in this country itself in manifold ways from the prejudice in question, it must be admitted that the outlook has hitherto been gloomy owing to the want of adequate knowledge on the part of the British public about the subject and to the obstacles in the way of our removing such ignorance. Luckily, however, the invincible proofs of India's whole-hearted and instinctive devotion, suddenly brought to light by the outbreak of the war, have wrought a most remarkable change not only in the minds of the whole of the people in the United Kingdom, but throughout the world. That change has been most conspicuous in the case of the "Thunderer" which dropping its customary forebodings about the consequences of unrest has even condescended to discuss the question of what India's reward is to be for its unexpected fidelity. It is to be hoped that this spirit of generous appreciation now will continue to be a permanent factor after the cessation of the war, and conduce to the meeting out of full justice to this part of the Empire, in spite of and notwithstanding the complexion with which nature in its infinite wisdom has thought fit to endow us. Our great responsibility in this connection is of course to take the most scrupulous care

that this prejudice against us does not make us swerve even for a moment from the straight path of duty to our august Sovereign and His benign rule. We know His love is deep, His sympathy intense, and His concern for our welfare abiding. May we so conduct ourselves as to deserve and ensure that that Love, Sympathy and Concern shall continue unabated and full. May the mighty Empire, which of Her own free-will took us within Her embrace, fail not in Her duty to us. And may Her noble motto "Righteousness exalteth a Nation" never change!

In concluding and offering you once more a most hearty welcome, I say, in the name of those Unseen Powers who watch over and guide the Destinies of our Motherland, may your labours prove fruitful!

HOME RULE AND CONGRESS.

[*Sir S. Subramania Iyer in his capacity as the Hony. President of the Home Rule League addressed the following letter to the members of the Subjects Committee of the 31st Indian National Congress held at Lucknow, in December 1916*:—]

Since the successful working of the forthcoming Congress Session rests mainly in your hands, I venture to address the following lines to you not that they contain anything new but because I owe it to the Home Rule League of which I am Honorary President, that I should submit them for your consideration. Though for reasons of old age and feeble health, I am denied the pleasure of taking any real or active part in the work of the said League, yet I am strong in the desire to propound and popularise the cause which the League has at heart, and stronger in the conviction, that the cause is bound ere long to win universal acceptance and therewith its crowning realisation.

2. It appears to be considered in certain quarters that the phrase "Home Rule for India" does not rightly represent our political demands and consequently the phrase seems not to commend itself to some of our English friends and even to a few of our own leaders, the latter of whom are appa-

rently inclined to prefer the phrase "Self-Government on Colonial lines," as they would describe it.

What is taking place daily before our own eyes in regard to the existing relations between the Self-Governing Colonies and the Mother Country shows that those relations are not viewed with favour by either side, that a change in regard to them is believed to be inevitable and that both parties are anxiously deliberating how the re-adjustment can be effected.

In these circumstances to ask for "Self-Government on Colonial lines," is to ask for not only that which is indefinite and uncertain in itself but also which will be a thing of the past very soon.

Now no one can deny that what we really want in our highest interests, is complete freedom with reference to the internal administration of the country—retaining at the same time the position of an integral part of the British Empire possessing a status no way inferior to that of the Colonies. Surely it is difficult to conceive of a name which will more accurately convey what we thus want than Home Rule. For, on the very face of it, the name suggests on the one hand the non-dependence on any other power in so far as our own domestic administration is concerned, whilst it unmistakably implies the existence of a connection between our country and the Colonies—all, of course, being dependencies of the Imperial Crown.

3. Another objection to the said name seems to be founded on the fact that many decades ago, certain misguided persons in Ireland who were among those that wished to secure better administration for their country were guilty of serious political crimes and it is argued that the adoption by us of a phrase which had its origin in the true and wise patriots in that country long ill-governed, is calculated to engender in our midst, more or less similar disaffections and crimes. This singular argument cannot but imply that the absolutely innocent term in question possesses somehow the magic power of dementing the people who choose to use it and even inciting them to acts of violence and bloodshed. It is scarcely necessary to say that nothing more absurd can be imagined. Again, whatever grounds there might have been against the adoption of the above name at or about the time when those political crimes occurred, surely none could exist at the present time against the use of the term in relation to this country, considering that it has received complete acceptance at the hands of the Imperial Parliament and connotes constitutional relations defined with the utmost precision by Act of Parliament. Supposing instead of a demand for Home Rule capable of strict definition, our claim had been for "Self-Government on Colonial lines," it is certain that the latter would be opposed on the

ground that we were seeking for what had grown up under very peculiar conditions having no analogy whatsoever to the circumstances of this country. Yet the clear-cut demand for Home Rule is with an astuteness not difficult to detect, affected to be put aside as out of the question, as if a claim for Self-Government on Colonial lines may receive some countenance, with the fond hope, however, that when such a claim begins to be pressed it will fail through its own inherent weakness and unsuitability.

4. Let me now turn to the astonishing supposition that the lines on which the League intends to work in order to attain its object involve disloyalty. Indeed, this supposition is as preposterous as it is astonishing; for one may fairly ask whether it is disloyal to circulate political literature amongst the masses, when such literature itself contains nothing unlawful, but purports to teach them how the administration of the country is in point of fact carried on, what its defects are and how it admits of improvement. Is not the supply of such literature advantageous alike to the authorities carrying on the Government and those who are governed? Is not the efficiency of a country's administration in proportion to the high average of political knowledge among the mass of the people governed? Is not the safety and success of political Government commensurate with the spread of political wisdom in the land? How then, can the efforts of the League to

disseminate information, intended to benefit the Governors and the governed equally, be stigmatised as blameworthy and stamped as disloyal?

5. Next as to the objection that the claim for Home Rule is premature, its untenability must be obvious to all. Who can believe and who dare say that the people of this country are unfit to manage their own domestic affairs?—a country which, in the past, produced the World-Teacher Buddha, the seers who gave the Upanishads, the philosophic Shankara, a Valmiki, a Kalidasa, a Tulasi Dass, the famous grammarians Panini and Patanjali, Emperors like Ashoka, Akbar, Shivaji and Hyder and the benevolent queen and administrator Ahilya Bai, to name but a few out of an immense number of persons of towering intellect, capacity and character, who flourished in this land in those palmy days—a country which even at the present time when the advantages of education have been small, opportunities for distinction smaller, and recognition of genius smallest, if not nil, can boast of of a reformer like Ram Mohan Roy, poet-philosopher like Tagore and a sweet singer like Sarojini, men of science like Bose, Ray and Mullick, administrators and statesmen like the great Salar Jung, Dinkhar Row, Madhava Row and Seshadri Iyer, of the last of whom, it was truly said. his head was ever dedicated to the service of his royal master and his heart wholly devoted to the worship of

Brahman. Judges and jurists, like the two Mitters of Bengal, Telang, Budruddin and Ranade of Bombay, Mahmood of the North-West and Muthuswami of Madras, and lastly noble patriots like our venerable Dadabhai, Tata, Mehta and Gokhale. Who can believe and who dare say that the people of such a country as this are unfit for self-rule? The thing is utterly false and ridiculous. This vain cry is the creation of the imagination of those who are unwilling to part with the substantial advantages they are enjoying at the expense of our vast subject population who are being governed without the safeguards necessary for their welfare. Such Government has gone on for more than a century now, under protestations from time to time that we were being trained for the task of administering our own internal affairs. The intelligence and capacity needed for the training for such work have not been wanting in us, nor the money and the other means required for the purpose absent in the county. Why then are we still unfit for self-rule as it is asserted? What explanation can there be for this alleged unfitness except the neglect of the imperative duty to prepare us for our unquestionable destiny? How can those who have thus been, by necessary implication, guilty of the neglect of such a solemn duty in the matter, rightly continue in the position which they have so lamentably betrayed? Be this as it may and under any circumstances, has

not the time come for substituting for the present uncontrolled administration of the country, what would really secure the uplifting of His Majesty's 300 and odd millions of Indian subjects from their condition of poverty and helplessness in every point of view as admitted by most competent authorities. If we are to wait for our demand for Home Rule being complied with, till our opponents think fit to concede it, shall we not have to wait till Doomsday? Consequently, nothing can be more hollow than this cry of our unfitness proceeding from purely selfish motives on the part of those who will necessarily be affected by the changes which our interests urgently demand.

6. Lastly as to the contention that agitation for Home Rule by the League is untimely during the continuance of the War, its hollowness, also, can fail to strike only those who are politically blind. Though the change necessary with reference to the re-adjustment of the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country will be far less than what our own conditions demand at the hands of the central authorities, yet those Colonies have almost from the commencement of the War not hesitated in the least to agitate about the subject with the concurrence of British statesmen. How then can similar agitation by us be untimely? The truth is that the objection taken on the ground of the pendency of the War is only a futile attempt to evade the

settlement of the question which really has nothing to do with the struggle now going on in Europe, but must have been taken up in hand years ago for proper disposal. It only remains to say that no great foresight is required to understand that this is the very best time for pressing the question upon the minds of those who hold in their hands the honour of Britain with reference to the princes and people of this country who have stood so faithfully by the Empire at the hour of its peril and trial, lest it should be said after the War that the proper time has passed away for dealing with the matter. Therefore not to press the question at this moment would be unjust alike to them and to us and absolutely inexpedient.

7. It behoves you, Gentlemen, to do all that lies in your power to induce the recognised representatives of India assembled now in Congress to take the step which, I respectfully submit, will conduce to the immediate benefit of the Motherland. I mean the acceptance by them of the Home Rule League as a working agent on their behalf. None will impute to me any intention whatsoever to detract from the magnitude of the service rendered by our National Congress; but, in spite of all it has done during the last 30 years, there can be no denying that that organisation is very much in the position of a Father in charge of a stupendous work to do, with no member of his family capable

of attending to it from day to day. Fortunately for all who are interested in that great work, there has all sprung up in the Home Rule League a vigorous and sturdy body possessing special capacity and qualifications for doing what the veteran organisation has hitherto been unable to look after. By affiliating this new-comer as a son and co-worker, the Congress will infuse into itself the necessary new blood and before long will be able to bring upon the British public the pressure which alone will convince it of the reality of our political demands. For this affiliated member will spread quickly among our masses the necessary information as to the wants of the country and as to the urgency for a change in our Home administration and at the same time will also bring about joint action politically on the part of the two great communities, the Hindu and the Muhammadan, whose aloofness from each other has hitherto been a great stumbling-block in their making headway towards the national goal. There can be no doubt that if the Congress would now take the step which I have taken the liberty to commend to your attention, a real commencement will have been made towards the acceleration of the happening of the glorious event, namely, the concession by one great race of the privilege of domestic self-rule to another great race differing from the former in every respect, in language, manners, customs and ideals

—a concession to be *voluntarily* made and thus unique in the history of Nations. That this event is not far off must be clear to all who have eyes to see. And may we not hope that what the American section of the Anglo-Saxon people has decided to do in the case of the Philippinos is manifestly a prelude under the guidance of unseen Powers who are watching over us with fatherly solicitude, to an action by the parent British race who cannot honourably lag behind much longer in dealing with us in a spirit of similar liberality, justice and righteousness.

I trust, Gentlemen, that this humble appeal of mine to you on behalf of the League which I so inadequately represent will receive your most favourable consideration.

WORK FOR HOME RULERS.

During the enforced absence * of the President of the League in Ootacamund, I think it is not inadvisable that I, as Honorary President of the League, should occasionally address a few words to our co-workers in different parts of India, so as to keep in touch with them, and mutually endeavour to maintain the spirit of indomitable devotion to the cause to which we are dedicating our lives, and to regulate our activities, in the light of our experience from day to day, in the performance of the uphill task that lies before us.

It is scarcely necessary to say that none of us can have the least doubt that the repressive policy, now so much in evidence, is not due merely to the idiosyncracies of this or that head of the administration in the Provinces, but that it is inspired by the Government of India itself. Again we should not fail to note that the central authority is being incited to initiate and carry out such lamentable policy by the Anglo-Indian community here and elsewhere, official and non-official.

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* Internment of Mrs. Besant by the Madras Government on 16th June, 1917.

The reasons for the determination of that community to stifle the voice of the Indian people at the present juncture, with reference to their political aspirations and aims, are obvious. In the first place, it feels that unless it stifles the voice of India at this juncture, responsible Ministers of the Crown might, under the statesmanlike guidance of Mr. Lloyd George, take irrevocable steps towards the grant of Self-Government and Home Rule to us, and thus jeopardise seriously their vested interests, so detrimental to the well-being of His Majesty's subjects in this part of His Dominions.

In the next place, the said community feels as one man that the stifling process in question is indispensable for keeping the British public in utter ignorance of the true state of affairs here, lest that public may bring pressure to bear upon the Ministers of the Crown and the Parliament to concede to India equal status with the Self-Governing Colonies in the reorganisation of the Empire after the War. Even under ordinary conditions of administration, the power of the Bureaucracy to prevent the due ventilation of just public grievances was formidable enough. But with the recent legislation, culminating in the Defence of India Act, now being used for purposes utterly foreign to its true scope and intent, our ability to give expression to the aspirations, now welling up throughout the country, is so crippled as to make it almost nil.

And this is why we feel that our task, as I have said, has become one beset with difficulties of the most serious character. Notwithstanding all this, none of us can flinch for one moment from performing the task to the best of our capacity. This is the one thing which every member of the League should impress on himself and on others co-operating with him. For, nothing is more likely to lead to disappointment in entering upon an undertaking, than failure to gauge its gravity. Hence the necessity for realising our exact situation and proceeding to work with the unalterable conviction that the inherent justice and nobility of our cause will eventually crown it with success. To my mind, the best proof that any member of the League in any part of India can give, as to his attitude being as aforesaid, is to act as the 276 brave men of the Maharashtra did the other day in solemnly resolving not to retrace their steps even if the demand for Home Rule as defined in the Congress Resolution be declared unlawful, and their readiness to face any penalties that their decision may result in. That the larger the number of such pledged men, the greater our power will be, must become manifest to all, if they will only consider the fact that every single member will be a centre that will spread all around him a worthy spirit of sacrifice and constitutional challenge to any arbitrary power that may be exerted for the purpose of cowing down

an unwilling population with reference to the legitimate efforts made by them for the betterment of their political status. It is challenge of this nature that will eventually prove the impotence of those who are exerting their power to such an ignoble end.

The next thing I wish to impress upon the mind of every member is that he should daily carry out the requisition in the Rules of the League *to will strongly for the success* of the Home Rule movement in the country. The value of such a regular practice may not be obvious at first sight, but once it is remembered that the greatest power in Nature is Will power the necessity to observe systematically the rule in question will require no argument.

With a view to facilitate the work of the members in making widely known the views entertained by the public bodies and by prominent individuals and others regarding the oppressive policy now begun, it is intended to issue periodically pamphlets containing resolutions passed and opinions expressed from time to time in relation to the subject, and it would be well if vernacular translations of these pamphlets could be widely circulated, by the branch Leagues in the different Provinces, so as to bring the knowledge of the same within the reach of all persons who may not be in a position to acquaint themselves with the same through newspapers.

One of the incidental advantages that would attend the publication of such pamphlets would be to disprove the untrue suggestion made by a few unscrupulous persons that the claim for Home Rule made in this country is a cry set up by a handful of disaffected members of a privileged caste. In this connection I ought to draw attention to the very thoughtful speech of the President of the Reddi Conference recently held in Nellore and the emphatic protest made on the occasion by a very largely attended meeting, consisting entirely of non-Brahmanas forming a very influential class in Southern India, against the malicious insinuations just referred to. I note with pleasure that the enlightened gentleman who presided at this Conference belongs to the class, a few of whom have considered it necessary to take the public into their confidence by means of a letter appearing in the daily newspapers this (Saturday) evening*, under the signatures of some twenty Zemindars of the Province. This action on their part marks a new era in the relation of the landed aristocracy to the politics of the country. It has been considered a reproach that they should, as a body, have till now kept aloof from activities connected therewith for so many years, though such activities have been participated in by nearly all other sections of the community. This reproach will

* 30–6–17.

now cease, for the letter unmistakably gives expression to their acceptance of the ideal of Self-Government for India, and "the adoption of constitutional means for reaching that ideal". It is in itself no small indication of their broadening outlook as to the future destiny of our common Motherland, and in their substantial agreement with the views of those who belong to the Home Rule League. As regards the concluding part of the last sentence of this letter, it is sufficient to say that they have done wisely in contenting themselves with the vague suggestion that the means hitherto adopted by Home Rulers have been other than constitutional. The utterly unfounded character of this must be patent to all and we may challenge these friends to lay their finger on what they consider would fall under such a category in the activities or methods pursued in the Home Rule League. This is not the first time that this challenge has been openly made and no one has yet ventured to meet it with the definiteness which in all fairness should be forthcoming from those making so grievous a charge.

I think I may without irrelevance say that the question what the distinction is between the Self-Government that some agitate for and the Home Rule that we have asked for has long remained unanswered. If we are called upon to state all we want in the form of a draft enactment, we shall be able to do so with precision of thought and accuracy

of expression, and indeed we have done so in the Self-Government scheme of the Congress and the Muslim League; while those advocating Self-Government will have to be beating about the bush in having to define their position in a similar document. It is scarcely necessary to say that if the Home Rule Propaganda is to be proscribed, that of the Congress and the Muslim League cannot escape the same fate. Instead therefore of attempting to draw distinctions without differences, it would be more profitable to work steadily for the attainment of our goal in spite of all the limitations imposed upon us, with that resolution and unruffled calmness which our leader has always shown and which she is exhibiting even now in her mountain retreat in "Gulistan". These last words find a place here in order that the thousands and thousands of her followers in many parts of the world may know and feel how she is and that her busy brain is still forming plans for our uplift to be put into execution when she is free again.

The most important thing, however, now requiring immediate attention is to make our people understand the necessity for the taking of the Swadeshi Vow so far as it is practicable. Of course, in carrying out this Vow, care must be taken to avoid all mistakes and errors that would bring us into conflict with the law. If this is done properly, the effect cannot but be marvellous. Having regard

to what has been well pointed out by the General Secretaries of the League in the columns of *New India* of 29th June, to which I invite your special attention, it is unnecessary for me to say anything more on this subject than to suggest that steps should be taken to provide facility for the purchase of Swadeshi goods and articles wherever they are available, and to afford help for the starting of home industries to the extent that lies in our power, subject though we are to innumerable difficulties in the matter. The example of our friends, who have with characteristic ability solved in a measure this question in Bombay and other places by opening show places and shops, should be followed and extended on a large scale in this and all the other Provinces.

The last point I shall refer to in this communication is the matter of the Fund started by me. This Fund is now under the control and management of a Committee composed of Messrs. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, the learned Editor of the *Hindu*, C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, one of the leaders of the Madras Bar and Secretary to the Home Rule League, C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliar, Vakil of the High Court, A. Ranganatha Mudaliar, Retired Deputy Collector, Mr. P. K. Telang, Rao Saheb Subbiah Chetty, and myself. I cannot be sufficiently thankful to the public in every part of India for so readily responding to my earnest appeal, and this

only affords one more incontrovertible proof of the great services rendered to the land by the three friends now suffering for our cause. Such manifestation of the spirit of the country should also dispel once for all the foolish notion that by getting out of the way the one prominent worker in the cause, who by accident is a "foreigner," the cause itself will inevitably come to grief. This argues collossal ignorance of the true conditions of the country and an utter incapacity to grasp the real situation. It is to be hoped that they at all events will now discover their mistake and make up their minds to look upon those who have been speaking the truth about the situation as their friends and not their enemies. Feeling therefore most thankful and gratified at the direct and indirect services thus rendered to the cause by all those who have so readily and generously responded to my appeal for funds, I trust I may be permitted to say that no pains should be spared in making the collections as large as they can be under the circumstances. It is only right to say that Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia have consented to do us the honour of accepting payment by us to them when needed. In fact, a few payments have already been made. Further, more expenses connected with the legal proceedings before English Courts have to be met by us, and whatever be the outcome of these proceedings, there can be

no doubt that the discussion of the matter in those Courts will give to it far greater publicity than we could expect to have by any other means, and this will greatly strengthen the hands of our friends in that country. Nor should the demands of the work of the League in this country in the way of printing and publishing pamphlets, and the employment of paid workers where that is absolutely necessary be overlooked. In this connection, I should not fail to congratulate Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, of Tiruppur, who has undertaken the task of touring and lecturing in these parts in connection with the Home Rule League, paying his own expenses. It is to be hoped others will follow his example and prove that we are in earnest. In conclusion, I shall consider it a great favour if members would freely offer their advice as to what should be done to make the educational work, which the League as an instrument of the Congress ought to carry out, effective from the practical point of view.

THEOSOPHY AND HOME RULE

[*In this and the following II & III Sir S. Subramania Iyer proves the fallacy of identifying the Theosophical writings with those of Home Rule movement. This is in reference to the embargo placed by the Madras Government on the Theosophical writings also, of Mrs. Besant during the internment, though it was rescinded subsequently* :—]

I

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S REVISED ORDER.

The telegram, as to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons, regarding the "revised orders" of the Government of Madras, with reference to Mrs. Besant's Theosophical writings, must come, as usual, as a surprise to all Indians. The statements by this Minister of the Crown rest, on his own showing, entirely upon representations by those, of whom the Secretary of State speaks as "men on the spot," but whose statements themselves are not open to examination by the public. The present case is one of special difficulty, because, though the "revised order" of the Government is before us, the Government has not been pleased to publish the replies of the interned, in spite of earnest solicitations for their

publication. Though, like others, I labour under the disadvantage of writing without knowledge of the actual contents of Mrs. Besant's reply, yet there can be no hesitation in asserting that she could not have "emphasied the unity of the Theosophical Society with the political aims of other organisations." Judging from repeated declarations by Mrs. Besant, as President of the Theosophical Society, almost up to the date of her interment, in the columns of the *Theosophist*, the official journal of the Society, and from other official utterances, it seems impossible that she could have so mixed up the objects and functions of that Society, as such with the political aims of other organisations. This is not to be merely inferred from what she has written in connection with the Society and its work, but from express declaration made by her, by way of answers to direct criticisms made by some of the members of the Society itself, with reference to her political work Her position has always been that evey member of the Society was free, in matters of opinion, to adhere to his own on all subjects—and the President was not an exception to this principle—so long as the members acted within the written constitution of the Society and did nothing inconsistent with the three objects thereof, as set forth in the Memorandum of Association. Furthermore, she has always maintained that none of her own opinions with reference

to matters not directly connected with the affairs of the Society, should be ascribed to her in her official character and that a line of demarcation between matters connected with the Society and other matters should be always maintained strongly and distinctly. As the leader in this morning's* *Madras Times* is calculated absolutely to mislead its readers on what is so vital to the Theosophical Society and its members, I feel it my duty as a Theosophist of 35 years' standing, as once its Vice-President and now a member of the General Council of the Society and of its Executive Committee, to protest against the view of the writer of the leader; and by way of supporting the protest I will quote, in my next letter, passages from the *Theosophist.* In the meanwhile, I would ask everyone to hold his judgment in suspense and for the moment treat the statement of the *Madras Times* that "it would seem that she has positively identified the Theosophical Society with the Home Rule for India cause and that unless she can preach Home Rule she cannot preach Theosophy" as unproven.

Turning to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons as telegraphed by Reuter, it is impossible to reconcile it with the facts of the case, as disclosed in the revised order itself. That order was not passed on any application by the interned parties. It was presumably due to

* 16—7—1917.

complaints, which had been made both in England and in this country, that the effect of the original Order prohibiting publication by her was extended even to her non-political writings. In this view, all that the circumstances of the case required was a decision by the Government as to which of her already published works should be exempted from the operation of their order and be liable to be sold as usual. Instead of any decision in this strain being given and the sale of books so exempted being left free, all that was permitted to the interned by that order was (judging it from the terms of the order as it appeared in the newspapers) "publication or republication of purely Theosophical or religious writings or speeches composed by them, provided that such writings or speeches have been previously examined and passed for publication by the Governor-in-Council himself or by such officer as he may appoint to make such examination." This necessarily involves a censorship by the Government of every line she had written previous to her internment, and surely no one with any self-respect could avail himself or herself of permission so granted and submit to the indignity and vexation involved in it.

It is difficult to find anything in the revised order of the Government to justify the remark that the Madras Government made an offer "permitting

Mrs. Besant to carry on all Theosophical work if she abstained from political agitation." This language of the Secretary of State would almost imply as if the Government was disposed to give her full liberty to move about the country, lecture on subjects other than political and continue to be as useful to Indian Society as she had been before she took up politics; whereas she is in the strictest confinement and incapable of addressing a single word to any person on any subject, except when people take the trouble of seeing her in her retirement.

I have hastened to write these lines in order to show how the statement of the Secretary of State is wide of the mark, and will return to the subject again. To-day's leader in the *Madras Times* is so full of insinuations and mischievous suggestions that it calls for a detailed notice, which I shall essay later.

II

The declarations of Mrs. Besant to which I alluded in my last letter will be found as an appendix to this letter, and I am sure that they confirm in every word my contention that her political activities were absolutely consistent with her position as President of the Theosophical Society. Such being the case, the suggestion in the article of the *Madras Times* of the 16th instant, that Mrs. Besant had positively identified the

Theosophical Society with the Home Rule for India cause, is nothing but a mischievous misrepresentation. Judging from the whole tenor of the article, the object of the writer seems to be to make the Society as obnoxious in the eyes of the Bureaucracy as the Home Rule movement is, and thereby destroy its further usefulness to the public in this country and throughout the world. I challenge the writer to adduce even a title of evidence in support of the allegation as to the identification of the Society with the Home Rule for India cause. Pending his meeting this challenge, I must proceed on the assumption that he considered the identification to be the necessary result of Mrs. Besant being the President of the Theosophical Society, on the one hand, and the Home Rule League, on the other, and of her great devotion to the discharge of the duties of the latter office to the supposed detriment of the other.

If this is the view of the writer, one answer is that, whilst doing yeoman's service to the cause of Home Rule, she has not been in the least guilty or neglecting her duties as President of the Theosophical Society and thus sacrificing the one for the advantage of the other. In making such an assumption the writer overlooks all the evidence against it. He could not have been ignorant of her incessant activities in connection with the Theosophical work, as such activities were chronicled

in the newspapers and reports of her speeches and her lectures on Theosophical subjects appeared in their columns. Again, when she was in Adyar, it was she that presided over the necessary meetings, and otherwise attended to the work of the Society at Headquarters, in addition to contributing to the *Theosophist* and to other journals, articles of utmost value on Theosophical subjects, every month without fail. It will thus be seen that to say that her Theosophical work did in any way suffer by her association with the Home Rule movement is not only sheer injustice to her, but a deliberate perversion of facts. Further the insinuation that the Theosophical Society has become a mere name, all its vitality having been absorbed into the Home Rule Leagues, is a mere myth.

Next I challenge the writer to show anything in the proceedings of the Theosophical Society that would, in the slightest degree, prove that the Society and the Home Rule Leagues were acting in concert in any matter whatsoever. The concluding part of the article in this morning's *Madras Times* on this subject makes it clear that the writer is conscious of his inability to lay his hands upon a single circumstance to prove that "however separate the two may be in theory there is very little separation in practice at Headquarters." In the absence of evidence worth relying on the writer feels himself compelled to draw upon his imagina-

tion as to the feelings of a Theosophist "from afar who might come to Madras to live a contemplative life in Adyar in a contemplative atmosphere in the presence of the High Priestess of the Society" and says that such a hypothetical personage "would be extraordinarily disturbed to find that the High Priestess was away all day long on excitable political business." Obviously the writer is never likely to become a theosophist "from afar," and in giving this result of his imagination he is completely misrepresenting the feelings of nine out of ten Theosophists who come to Adyar. Those who know the members of the Society visiting the place can speak to the fact that they do not come there "to live a contemplative life in a contemplative atmosphere," much less, for the purpose of enjoying a pleasant nap on the lap of a grand motherly "High Priestess". They come there for work, for service and to learn the technique of such service and work from one of the greatest servants of humanity and workers in the cause of Truth and Justice. Let me assert that one of the standing rules of the Society is that no member thereof shall take up the President's time, even for a few minutes, except out of absolute necessity, in pursuance of the duty which devolves on him or her during their stay. Be it also remembered that they, unlike those, not unknown in India, who take Indian money to villify Indians, come there to learn to serve, not

for remuneration received or expected from anyone. These pilgrims from abroad feel only stirred up by her incessant activity, partly in connection with her Theosophical work, and partly in other spheres of activity, to follow as far as possible her mighty example. They certainly do not feel aggrieved that "she is away all day long from Adyar."

It only remains for me to say that in all these circumstances the writer's suggested identification of the Theosophical Society with the Home Rule League would be as absurd a suggestion as that the Medical Council of Madras has become identified with the Non-Brahmana Movement by reason of the fact that a member of that Council—the Yogi of Devashola—is the life and soul of the Movement.

As regards the observation of the writer that "unless Mrs. Besant can preach Home Rule, she cannot preach Theosophy," it is difficult to imagine how any journalist could have made up his mind to make such a palpably unwarranted suggestion. I take it that she had not said so in her reply to His Excellency the Governor, for it is impossible for me to believe that she could have done so, considering that she is still sane. The only ground for the unscrupulous insinuation in question, that Mrs. Besant's enemies could imagine, would have reference to her well-known view that religion and politics were not like the contents of two separate water-tight compartments, but parts necessarily

connected with each other, with reference to the well-being of human society. This she has consistently maintained always and long before she began her political work in this country. It would be waste of time to refer to her many utterances showing this consistent position of hers, for those utterances have been for a long time accessible to all, and the writer of the article could have laid his hands, without the least trouble, on them before he rushed into print to unrighteously blacken her character. This view of hers as to the necessary connection between religion and politics may not agree with western ideas on the subject, but it is not strange in her case because, for though by birth a western, she is every inch a true eastern soul, and to such a soul any other position is inconceivable. No one who has paid the slightest attention to the Hindu Scriptures and works on Hindu polity could be ignorant of the fact that religion and politics are treated in them as inseparable; nay, it has been the accredited teaching in this country that Rishis were the guides of Kings and law-givers as well as teachers of Brahma Vidya or Spiritual Science. Among the passages that could be cited on the point I would refer to a long extract in Babu Baghavan Das's *Science of Social Organisation* or *The Laws of Manu*, wherein Vashista enunciates the above proposition in unambiguous terms.

One more point remains to be noticed. If the Government has been prepared to allow Mrs. Besant to do spiritual work in case she would not meddle with politics, the right thing would have been to leave her free to go on with her spiritual work, and if in the exercise of that liberty she were found guilty of political agitation, bringing her within the grip of the law, then to prosecute her under the ordinary penal laws of the land and get her convicted and punished. But to intern her and make it impossible for her to say or to write a single word as a Theosophist, without subjecting herself to the censorship of some nominee of the Executive, who, for all one knows, may be an atheist, or agnostist or a fanatical Christian or a follower of Islam or of any other faith, which is not hers, and who has neither the sympathy nor the knowledge necessary for fairly judging what he has to deal with, as censor, and under such circumstances to tell her "you may go on with your spiritual work if you please" and when she declines to accept such a singular offer, to charge her with refusing to avail herself of the permission to preach Theosophy, is absurd and ridiculous. As I said in my last letter, the treatment, extended to her under the "revised order" as to her publication, is not only not one that any person with a particle of self-respect can avail himself of, but one which it is physically impossible to take advantage of.

I cannot help asking why the Government should persist in withholding from the public Mrs. Besant's reply on which the statement that "she will not preach Theosophy unless she is allowed to preach Home Rule" is sought to be based. In fairness to all parties concerned—to Mrs. Besant, the public and the Government—that communication should have seen the light of day long ago and it is but right that it should not be kept back, especially after the Secretary of State's explanation which is so hard to understand. If Mrs. Besant has been "violent in her reply," that should affect *her* to her prejudice and not Government. The course pursued by the authorities in this specially important instance is not calculated to create that confidence in the rectitude of their intentions and professions which should exist. Such instances must necessarily add to the difficulties which are arising from the failure of the Government to gauge the gravity of the situation in the country. The danger is certainly being enhanced by what is being done under its very eyes by irresponsible subordinates in the muffasal. For example, just consider the action of the Police, as reported by the Arni correspondent in yesterday's papers, with regard to a meeting that had been arranged for the delivery of a lecture at the place on Swadeshi work by Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu. A full attempt was made to coerce the organisers to stop the meeting

and when that was not submitted to, an official document was produced containing a statement as to the likelihood of a breach of the peace, if the meeting was allowed to be held—a statement which even a credulous child would not believe to be true. Such ineptitude on the part of those, who are bound to maintain order and peace, cannot but produce in the minds of the people the impression that the authorities are in a state of fright which makes them resort to such ridiculous expedience. This surely cannot facilitate the work of administration, which, as I have said, is growing day by day extremely arduous. It will be well if this aspect of the matter receives deep consideration at the hands of His Excellency. This letter has grown so long as to make it necessary for me to return to the subject again and in doing so I shall refer to the article appearing in *Justice* of the 16th instant with reference to the position of Government servants, whether of British India or Native States, as members of the Theosophical Society.

III

In my letters of the 16th and the 17th instant, I have endeavoured to show, first, that the suggestion that Mrs. Besant had identified the Theosophical Society with the Home Rule for India cause and practically starved the former of its life, infusing it all into the Home Rule movement, is absolutely untrue; and, secondly, that in her reply to the

"revised order" of the Government, Mrs. Besant could not have taken up the position that "unless she can preach Home Rule she cannot Theosophy." In conclusion, I urged that in justice to all the parties concerned, it was absolutely essential, particularly after the Secretary of State's latest statement, that Mrs. Besant's reply should be allowed to see the light of day, if all the misapprehension on the subject in the public mind is to be removed.

The quotations from the *Theosophist* in yesterday's paper must make it impossible for any one now to believe that Mrs. Besant has in the least tampered with the objects, constitution or actual work of the Society. And no one who is acquainted with that work can honestly say that it is not going on as vigorously as ever, notwithstanding the unavoidable difficulty, due to the War, experienced by the workers here and abroad. The utmost that the writer in the *Madras Times* and ill-disposed critics like him could bring forward against Mrs. Besant, with reference to her relation to the Society as the President, is that she has been devoting recently much of her time to politics, instead of to Theosophy. This, of course, implies the assumption of an obligation on her part to devote her whole time to Theosophy. The writer even speaks of her as "the full time worker for the Society." Does not the writer know that she holds the office of the President by right of election by a body of voters

from all parts of the world, numbering about twenty thousand, and that nothing in the articles of Association and the rules thereunder warrant the application of the phrase, "full time worker," to her in any sense whatever? Everyone knows that, since her first election ten years ago, she has done ten times more work as President of the Society than her predecessor. No stronger proof of this can be needed than that the circulation of the *Theosophist*, the official organ of the Society, is infinitely larger now than it was at the time of Col. Olcott's death. The numbers of lectures delivered and of books and pamphlets written by her on Theosophical subjects are in comparison equally enormous. But all this great labour has been the outcome of her spontaneous devotion and love to the Society, and not exacted from her as a matter of official duty. What right or business has any Theosophist, and much less an outsider, like the hostile critic in the *Madras Times*, to complain of her turning her activities at this stage of her career to the uplifting of Indian society politically and using part of her time and unrivalled powers towards such a noble object? Even so, as I have already pointed out in my last letter, it is not true that the affairs and work of the Society have ceased to engage her attention. On the contrary, having regard to her political activities and to the necessity of training fit persons

for discharging the ever-increasing theosophical work, she has taken the precaution of associating with herself competent and learned Theosophists, thereby advancing the cause of Theosophy, instead of allowing it to suffer by her new activity in relation to politics. Her power of tireless work is such as to enable her to start movements over and above Theosophy and Politics, as evidenced by the National Educational movement, which she had set on foot just before her unjust internment. None therefore can fail to see the insincerity and hollowness of the attempts to make out that she had been guilty of neglecting her rightful vocation as the President of the Theosophical Society in turning her attention to Indian Politics.

The offensive sarcasm, with which the writer speaks of the true Founders of the Theosophical Society, the Masters, who are amongst the greatest objects of reverence to Theosophists, is characteristic of the worldling, who is in the habit of going up and down the river, casting envious glances at the peaceful grounds of the Adyar Head-Quarters and its beautiful surroundings, and is but natural to him. That the levity, with which he alludes to Them, is due to his culpable ignorance of what those Masters really are is equally plain. Would that he showed greater knowledge about the subject he writes in his future similar lucubrations. Had he taken even a little trouble to glance over the few passages of the

"Occult World", an interesting book, which appeared in the eighties, long before Mrs. Besant entered the Theosophical Society or had anything to do with it, from the pen of Mr. A.P. Sinnet, the then able Editor of the *Pioneer*, the writer would have known something of the greatness of the Masters and Their work in the world. He would have learnt that they are not the mere lotus-eating philosophers who desire merely "to spread Their soft influences from the quietude of inaccessible Himalayan heights," but that They are "the moulders of the great civilisations of the world," as the Master, whom Mr. Sinnet quotes, emphatically points out. Would that the writer of the article knew what that Brotherhood has done in the past and is doing just now, at the present critical moment in the history of the British Empire, for India, the Motherland, for which the Master says His Love has always been very strong. What the Master writes on this point is worth reproduction now that the spirit of patriotism is stirring up the heart of every son of India. The Master says "tracing our lineage through the vicissitudes of Indian civilisation from a remote past, we have a love for our Motherland so deep and passionate that it has survived even the broadening and cosmopolitanising effect of our studies in the laws of nature."

As regards the supposition of the writer that the Founders of the Theosophical Society wanted

the members thereof to do no more than ruminate on metaphysical problems, it is utterly inconsistent with its Founders' true work in the world, as the moulders of civilisations. It is Their ardent wish that the Motherland should once more occupy its legitimate place in the scale of Nations. They have said that They would strain every nerve to hasten that uplifting; and that the foundation of Their Society was one of the great steps They took towards the realisation of Their wish in the matter. The Master writes, "Imagine then that, since we are all convinced that the degradation of India is largely due to the suffocation of her ancient spirituality, and that whatever helps to restore that higher standard of thought and morals must be a regenerating National force, everyone of us would naturally and without urging be disposed to push forward a Society, whose proposed formation is under debate, especially if it is really meant to become a Society untainted by selfish motives, whose object is the revival of ancient science and of the tendency to rehabilitate our country in the world's estimation."

Surely, with so definite and clear an enunciation of the object which the Founders had in Their view, enunciated too on the very eve of its foundation, it is the very height of insolence to say that the present President is acting improperly in taking up politics, with the intention of ensuring the rehabilitation of the Motherland; for, in

doing so, she is but carrying out the Masters' behests, of which, however, the outside world knows as yet very little. As she, the fearless and chosen servant of the Masters, herself points out in the extracts from the *Theosophist* published yesterday, she began her political work, after having prepared the way by her strenuous labours during 21 years, from 1893 to 1914. That the wish of the Masters is to see Their beloved land once more occupying its natural place in the federation of modern Nations, no reflecting man can doubt for a moment. And it is from the celestial fire lit by Them that the spark of the thought of Indian Nationality has come and is growing day by day.

Nor does the claim, which has been put forward by the Master who wrote to Messrs. Sinnet and Hume, a novel pretension of modern times. Ages ago, Vasishta, the contemporary of Sri Ramachandra and his spiritual teacher and guide, said: "After the lapse of the golden age, Brahma, surveying the whole plan and history of His creation past, present and future, created Me and stored all possible kinds of knowledge in my mind, and sent me down to earth to replace the ignorance and error of the child-like race with education and truthful science. And as I was sent, so were other sages also sent, Narada and others, all under the leadership of Sanatkumara. These sages then established Kings in various regions of the Earth to guide the perplex-

ed people and formulated many laws and sciences for mutual help and sacrifice among the human and Deva Kingdoms". In passing, I may note that it is about these Kings that Mr. Sinnett's Master puts the following question: "Are you quite sure that the visible heroic figures in the successive dramas were not often but Their puppets?" That the mighty Beings, the successors of the sages above referred to, constitute the link between the spiritual ruler of the world, Sanatkumara, and its population, is a vital truth, which has been forgotten and lost sight of in modern times in the West. It is such unreal distinctions, as secular and religious, spiritual and temporal, so superstitiously clung to there, that are the fertile sources of trouble, when applied, to the conditions of our eastern society. It is the rigorous and unsympathetic resort to such foreign ideas and notions that make the present rule a retarding force and compel the subject population to seek Self-Government and Home Rule as the one real remedy, in order to escape from the evils they labour under.

I have felt it necessary to refer to these matters, which are of the essence of the faith of people, who think like Mrs. Besant, but who do not make public reference to them, as they are connected with the objects of their greatest reverence, simply because the attempt is now being made to separate the Home Rule Movement from the spiritual basis on.

which it is really founded in the hearts of Mrs. Besant and most Indians, and also because the issues are being confused in order to mislead members of the Theosophical Society. I need not say that I do so with the greatest reluctance and with due apologies.

In conclusion, a word as to the statement made in day before yesterday's issue of *Justice* that "public servants, who are members of the Theosophical Society or contribute to its funds at the present time, must be held to violate the ruling of the Government, that they should not interfere with politics." This issue is raised on the supposition that the objects of the Theosophical Society must be taken as having been declared by Mrs. Besant to be identified with the Home Rule Movement. That such a supposition is a baseless surmise, drawn from the latest statement of the Secretary of State, must be evident to all who have paid any attention to my letters on the subject. In disproof of that supposition I would content myself with laying stress on the extracts which appeared yesterday. They speak for themselves so clearly as to render any different interpretation of Mrs. Besant's views and attitude in the matter simply impossible.

THE WORK OF HOME RULE LEAGUE.

[*A Public Meeting was held (9-8-17) at the Gokhale Hall, Y.M.I.A., under the auspices of the Home Rule League, Madras, to consider the work of Home Rule League and to welcome Shrimati Sivakamu Ammal and Messrs. K. R. Deobhankar and S. Siva Rao who arrived in Madras from Bombay. The following is the full text of the speech of Sir S. Subramania Iyer who presided on the occasion* :—]

We are living in very difficult times, and to-day's meeting will, I am sure, be one of great meetings. Having regard to the infirmities of age and having regard to the necessity of care which ought to be exercised in saying what I have to say to you, I thought it right to put down what I have to say into writing, and Mr. Telang will read the speech for me.

One of the objects of this meeting is to introduce to our brothers here, Sivakamu Ammal, Mr. Deobhankar and Mr. Shiva Rao, all three of whom left Bombay last week with a definite message from a large body of Home Rulers in that Presidency and arrived here with the full determination to carry out the directions they received from their

co-workers in the Maharashtra. I ought to say that the order, which was enforced on Mr. Karandikar two weeks back, is viewed by the Bombay Home Rulers as a special blow aimed at them as a body. Consequently, they feel it their duty to vindicate their rights, as free citizens of His Imperial Majesty, by making it clear to the authorities here and elsewhere that the order in question, and similar orders which may be passed in future, will not be submitted to without protest, and further such protests will take the more substantial form of passive resistance, which they claim with ample authority to be absolutely constitutional. Though what I have just said will be seen from the report in the papers of the proceedings of a meeting held in Bombay presided over by Mr. Horniman on the eve of the departure of the three messengers, I have thought it right to allude to it, in order that there may be no misconception or doubt at all in the matter.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the procedure, resolved upon by the Bombay Home Rulers, should not be understood as in any way anticipating the decision to be arrived at with reference to the requisition made at the Joint Conference of the Congress Committee and the Muslim League, which took place on the 28th ultimo. The procedure in question was resolved upon independently of what the Congress Committees and Muslim League

may think it right to lay down as proper steps to be adopted at this critical juncture. The Bombay Home Rulers are acting upon their own initiative and on their own sole responsibility. They are doing so because of the irresistible conviction in their minds that their duty to the country imperatively calls for such action by them without a moment's delay, and that they cannot, consistently with their scruples, defer any longer their opposition to the recent orders under the Defence of India Act, as those orders are quite illegal and unjust. Now it being most certain that every attempt to convince those in power that the orders under reference are contrary to the true interests of the Empire has hitherto completely failed to receive due notice, there is no other alternative but to resort to the one remaining constitutional remedy of passive resistance, in the hope that those powers will no longer delude themselves with the mischievous idea that repression added to repression can eradicate the new spirit of a mighty unity and nationality which has taken root in this ancient land. It is passing strange that so obvious and striking a phenomenon as the rapid spread of the new spirit should continue to be still unperceived by those whom it so seriously concerns. It is stranger still that they should be so oblivious as to the effect of the issue of such a G.O. as 559 upon the rising generation throughout India, which cannot but believe that it is a deliberate

attempt to consign them to political darkness and thereby embitter them irretrievably. In the name of common sense, one cannot help asking of what earthly use such *brutum fulman*, as the prohibition contained in the said G. O. is whilst those who issued it are powerless to keep out of the country as proscribed matter such essentially political literature as the recent famous judgment of Lord Shaw as to the interpretation of the British Defence Act. How can the impressionable minds of the thousands of law students, who read with avidity the stirring plea which the learned Lord makes in the cause of liberty, fail to think that the use which is being made of the Defence Act in this country is unmixed tyranny, condemned by so great an authority as the jurist that recorded that memorable judgment? Apart from this material aspect of the question, there is the daily growing belief in the popular mind to the effect that the new spirit just alluded to has been implanted in them at the bidding of the Spiritual Hierarchy guiding the destinies of humanity on our globe, whose irresistible power can extinguish within the twinkling of an eye the mightiest earthly autocracy that impedes the fulfilment of the Divine plan with reference to the uplifting of our Motherland. In all sincerity I affirm that it is high time that the Viceroy, on whose shoulders rests the responsibility for the present state of things, should take counsel from those

who can open his eyes to the extreme gravity of the situation which he has managed to bring about almost from the commencement of his ominous regime.

What I have said so far will be incomplete if I do not add that the Home Rulers in this Presidency will give to their Bombay brethren all the support as in honour they are bound to do. The *Kesari* has published the names of some fourteen hundred persons with their addresses, who have already enrolled themselves as passive resisters, and how many there are in our Presidency who will follow their courageous lead will be ascertained and made known at an early date. I may say that that number will not be inconsiderable, judging from the very intense feeling of indignation which prevails among all the sections of the community throughout this Presidency.

With the utmost deference and loyalty, I submit for the consideration of the authorities that the first thing wanted to allay the excited state of public feeling is an order cancelling the internment of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. Our distinguished countryman, the Hon. Mr. Mazhrul Haque who saw Mrs. Besant yesterday at Ootacamund, described to me that her state of health is most alarming. Her break-down seems to be such as to make it doubtful whether she will ever recover and live. That wonderful brain of hers, which

continued to work without fatigue almost the whole day, has become so weakened as to make it impossible for her to think at all. That tongue of hers, from which flowed power and wisdom hour after hour and which was never lifted, in the words of Sir Arthur Lawley, "save to move her hearers to some nobler impulse, to some loftier ideals and to some higher plane of thought," is so paralysed as to be unable to utter even a few sentences consecutively to her intimate friends. Surely, it could not be the intention of those who interned her to bring about so dire a state of things. In the name of simple justice, we demand immediate attention to it. We do so of course not at her instance or request. From what we know of her, it will not be far from true to say, that to pass away under the existing circumstances as a martyr to the cause which she has so much at heart is more likely to appeal to her than anything else that could happen under the present conditions. For, as in the days of yore, even now every martyr feels that his or her blood will be the seed of the church. Further more, it has always been Mrs. Besant's view that to know when and how to die in one century is to live for ever. What nobler end can there be so glorious a career as hers, than that her life should be the first sacrificial offering made for the purpose of achieving liberty for the Indian Nation? Therefore it is not

by way of carrying out her wish in the matter that we ask for the cancelment of the order and thus save her life if possible. We ask it, because it will be a crying shame to us if we leave even a single stone however small unturned to obtain the release of one who has been so cruelly struck at, solely by reason of her gallant services to us. Gentlemen, this release of hers is, as I said, the first thing needed to allay public discontent. The cruel character of one of the chief causes for such a state of feeling, namely, the internments, cannot be more strongly illustrated than by the pathetic letter which I received last evening, and which it is my sacred duty to place before you on this momentous occasion. It comes from the venerable old mother of the other two interned, whose case rivets and deserves as serious an attention as those of our three friends at Ootacamund, I mean the devoted and dear parent of Shaukat Ali and Muhammed Ali, now interned in Chindwara in the Central Provinces where she is sharing their exile. The letter speaks for itself, and who can listen to its contents without being moved to the very core? And we should be wanting utterly in humanity if effective steps are not soon taken on the lines suggested by her, in the concluding part of the letter, for the help and relief of the hundreds and hundreds of our countrymen who have been arrested, interned, and are undergoing untold miseries in the different

parts of the country. I shall now read the letter, than which no more inspiring document has ever come into my possession.

"WITH THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST MERCIUL AND THE MOST COMPASSIONATE."

CHINDWARA, C. P. AUG. 4, 1917.

DEAR SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER,—I fear this letter will surprise you a good deal, not only because it comes from a total stranger, but also because the writer is a Muslim woman brought up in the old orthodox ways, according to which women are seldom supposed to address any communication to strangers, and never to men.

But these are extraordinary times, and things are changing so fast that no one should feel astonished if an old woman like myself addressed, at the sacrifice of a little orthodoxy, a letter to one so universally respected and reverenced as yourself on a subject which fills at present the minds of all.

Old people, and especially old women, are not generally fond of changes; but, old as I am, I welcome those that I see taking place around me to-day. Indeed it does my heart good to see that the people f this country are now beginning to return to the faiths that moved their ancestors to do good and great deeds, and that we, the Mussalmans, too, are at last finding our way back to that old and unpolluted source of inspiration, namely, Islam.

In the glorious days of our great Prophet (on whom be Peace and God's Benediction) and in those of his early Caliphs (with whom God was satisfied), we were all free enough to do good, and we, the women of Islam, also used to shoulder our share of the burden and march along with our men, even to the holy Wars. It is true that in recent times we have been leading a much more retired life; but, nevertheless, I do not think that we women are at all inclined to shirk to-day such duties as the changing times may once more require us to perform.

In my own case, God, in His great wisdom, willed it that I should shoulder a heavier burden than ordinarily falls to our share. The sudden and premature death of my husband left me a widow

at the age of 27, with six children to bring up and educate (of whom the youngest, Muhammad Ali, was less than two years old) beside looking after their property. With a firm belief in the Divine protection of those that struggle to do good, and with the solace and inspiration of my faith, I sat to work, and in spite of many difficulties and disabilities, I had my reward when all my sons were at last old enough to enter life on their own account. They no longer needed my assistance; and I could now turn contentedly to such religious devotions as had always drawn me towards themselves.

But when my two youngest boys, Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, were interned more than two years ago, I felt that my place was by their side, though they were now fully grown-up men and fathers of families. From the first day of their undeserved internment, I have shared their exile and have never regretted it. It is an honour and a privilege reserved only for those whom God chooses for the purpose, to suffer discomforts and privations, and even death, in the service of one's faith and country, and I am more than content that my sons were the first to be interned under the Defence of India Act barely two months after it had been passed. Of my own free will and even against the wishes of my children, I have decided to share all their sufferings and privations and to do what an old woman like me can do for my God and my country.

As for Home Rule for which I have noted naturally with pride that it is one of my own sex and age that has worked so earnestly, well, I may claim that for 40 years I have been in a very practical sort of way a real Home Ruler; and, judging by results, I do not think I have done so badly. I therefore feel that I have established a right to demand it for my country, and when I heard many months ago that, residing as I did in the Central Provinces, I could join the Maharashtra Home Rule League, inaugurated by that good and brave man, Lokamanya Tilak, I, along with my daughter-in-law (Mahomed Ali's wife), and every other adult member of our household, was sworn in as a member. In these days, it is not sufficient merely to have a belief. One must openly profess it, and, if need be, proclaim it from the housetop.

I have always felt a great desire to meet our greatly gifted and brave sister, Annie Besant, and more so after her very affectionate and cheering letters to my sons during their internment. She was extremely good and kind to them and used to send them all her publications. Please convey to her our sincere love and affection and assure her and her two fellow-sufferers and lieutenants of our deep devotion to them. I regard it as a great misfortune that I have never met her. My son Shaukat Ali was for several years posted at Benares as a Government Officer in the Opium Department and met her there; and although I visited him for fairly a long period practically in every station to which he was posted, curiously enough it was Benares only where I failed to stay with him. However, God willing, we shall meet some day, and in the meantime I shall continually pray for her. To her in her internment, I have nothing but congratulations to offer. The prayers of young and old, Muslims and Hindus, in a united India are with her, and they will make up for all the petty persecutions of a breed of little men which she is now experiencing even as we have experienced them these 27 months.

Beyond my prayers and congratulations, I have little to offer her. But I feel that to the fund opened in connection with her internment I must offer our little mite. We have never been rich; since the internment of my sons, we are decidedly poor. Neither of them is in a position to conduct his business, and, instead of anything being earned, several thousands of rupees a year have to be paid as interest alone on borrowed capital. To meet these claims and the daily expenses of a large family for which my sons' subsistence allowance could not obviously suffice, I have sold off the greater portion of our Jagir which my husband's father had earned for services rendered to the British during the mutiny, when, working on behalf of his master, the then Nawab of Rampore, he saved the lives of many of the English residents and officials in Rohilkhand and Kumaon. So long as my children were young and I had to maintain them, I had regarded it as a point of honour never to part with any portion of this property, and so far not an acre of it had been allowed to pass out of our hands in spite of the greatest financial stress. But since it was the internment of the grandsons that in 1917 demanded the sale of the Jagir

earned by the grandfather in 1857, I considered myself in a way absolved and I am not a bit sorry that I have sold such a large slice of it. As for the future, I have no misgivings about my sons and their children. I firmly believe in our Oriental proverb, " Mulk-i-Khuda tang neest; pa-i-mara lang neest." (God's dominions are not within narrow limits ; and my foot is not lame.) But even to-day I want our great sister to share our modest pocket money and I would be greatly obliged if you would kindly accept Rs. 10 per month from us. I have sent a M. O. for the first month and should like to tell you that every member of our household here has contributed something to make up this amount, the children and the servants have pressed their mites with marked fervour.

In this connection, I should like to say one thing more. My own sons are young and strong, and have innumerable friends and fellow-workers all over the country who would be only too glad to give any assistance they needed. But my mother's heart bleeds as I feel sure does my good sister Annie Beasant's, for the hundreds of brave unfortunate lads condemned without a hearing, removed from their friends and families, and deprived, among other things, of their liberty to earn a living for themselves and those depending on them. My own experiences during that last two and a quarter years have, as it were, brought it home to me what hundreds of mothers must be feeling to-day whose homes have been left desolate to them, and still more what those young men must be feeling who have no mother to look after their comfort and console them in their exile. One hears every now and then a heart-rending tale of sorrow and privations and dimly realises that there must be many others equally heart-rending that never reach one's ears. Cannot something be done in the way of giving them legal advice and pecuniary help? Even if these unfortunate men must lose their liberty, why need they and their families, that could have done nothing to merit such a fate, be left to starve? Could not our Home Rule Leagues keep some sort of record of every person interned and not merely of those that are generally known to the public, and see that they were given such assistance as they and

theirs needed? I am sure if an appeal was made every household in every part of India would contribute something for such a noble cause even if it be a handful of grain every day. And our generous and selfless sister, Annie Besant, rightly deserves the honour that such a fund should bear her name, and I feel it would please her more than anything else, if her sufferings and possible privations moved all India to think of those who suffer like her and to provide for their needs. As for her own suffering, great as they must be, they cannot be unendurable. We women may be physically weak and may not distinguish ourselves like men in action; but God has in His great mercy given us greater power to love and to bear. And where we love greatly, we also suffer greatly and gladly. These days cannot last long, and there can be but one end. I have firm faith in those noble words of our Holy Book that have always given courage and comfort to every one experiencing sufferings and suspense: "Nash-um-min Allah-I Wa-Fath-Un Qareeb." (Succour cometh from God and victory is nigh.)

God be with you.

Yours very truly

(Signed) ABADI BANO ABDUL ALI BEGAM,

Mother of Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali.

Next to an order cancelling the internment of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers, what is indispensable to our peace is to be allowed to carry on our legitimate work as Home Rulers without improper restraint or interruption. Of course that work will consist of agitation in the press and the public meetings, of matters connected with the subject of Home Rule in all its aspects, of propaganda with a view to educate the general public as to the need for it, and with reference to the main problems connected therewith, and lastly, the taking of necessary steps for the obtaining of redress for our

grievances from the proper quarters. Unless we are left unfettered to carry on this work, on perfectly legitimate lines and without infringing the law of the land, we feel we shall not be discharging our obligation to our sovereign or to ourselves properly. We cannot help thinking that the true interests of this country will fail to receive due consideration at the hands of the Parliament and the British public, unless our liberty as above stated remains uncurtailed. We are absolutely convinced that any decisions arrived at merely upon the advice of the Government of India, as to the changes to be introduced here at the termination of the War, must prove utterly abortive and illusory. The suggestions put forward by the Anglo-Indian Press as to Conferences and Committees being held in this country to deal with the matter and make recommendations, are obviously meant to prevent the thorough and impartial investigation of the subject by a competent body of disinterested arbiters. I feel confident that all India will treat all such Conferences and Committees in this country as shams utterly unworthy of any consideration. The only chance of a right decision on such a vital matter lies in a searching examination by a Parliamentary Committee, in which no one who has ever served in British India as a member of the Civil Service or otherwise should have a seat. And it is impossible for anyone to

deny that such a sifting inquiry alone can meet the requirements of the case.

In proceeding to request Sivakamu Ammal to address you, a little preface will not be out of place. In the writer of the letter which I have read, you have the representative of a much older generation than the speaker whom you will presently hear. Both of them, however, unite in urging us to work for the cause which is ours. This combination of them marks an era in our political and social history which is worth noting. It shows that the spiritual force which has secured to womanhood in the West their just rights since the commencement of the War has begun to make its way in our midst also. Sivakamu Ammal's example cannot but act most powerfully upon others of her generation, and in due time the influence of mothers, sisters and wives upon their male relations will be of a character and value that cannot be overrated, and accelerate the advance of our country at a rate not easy of calculation. It will not be the lot of those future mothers, sisters and wives to serve the Motherland by shedding their blood as was the case with the princessses referred to in Todd's Rajastan, but the spirit of valour would be the same in the former as it was in the latter. And with such comrades, patriotic service on the part of our sons and grandsons must be less arduous and more joyful than now. I say to Home Rulers, go

forth and act your part with unflinching courage. One word of caution, with reference to the use of language which you have to employ in addressing fellowmen. Violent words are, in my judgment, like alcohol which first stimulates but eventually depresses and injures, whilst temperate words expressing relevant facts act like tonic that invigorates and strengthens. Bearing this in mind, I repeat go ye forth and work unflinchingly.

PANCHAMAS AND HOME RULE.

[*A Panchama wrote an open letter pointing out the social and political disabilities of his class, to Sir S. Subramania Iyer who, in the following open reply (appeared in the Press on the 22nd August 1917) removes the misconceptions raised in the letter*:—]

PANCHAMA BROTHER,—You have done me a good turn by addressing to me your letter under reply. For, you have thereby afforded me a good opportunity of publicly acknowledging the existence of such paternal relation between us. When I entered the Theosophical Society in 1882, with its first object of "Universal Brotherhood," I pledged myself to look upon all men and women as standing to each other in the relation of brothers and sisters, and I have all these 35 years endeavoured to keep up that pledge to the best of my power. I have as far as possible endeavoured to remove the taints that, according to you, attach to me by reason of my birth as a Brahmana in pointing out that the "Varnashrama Dharma" creed you animadvert upon, has bean rendered by Time, the greatest of Innovators, incapable of not only perpetuation but also of renovation and amendment. My efforts, in this matter, have not been infrequent. Though

this is not the place to refer to them in detail, I ought to say they have, as you must be aware, expose me to much unpopularity at the hands of a certain section of my own community. If notwithstanding such efforts of mine, and your professions of respect for my "age", my "intellect," my "personal qualities" etc., you still look upon me among the alleged oppressors of the class you wish to champion. I can only say your attitude towards me is not only uncharitable but also implies a state of mind to reason with which will be unavailing.

Passing now to what is more important than the personal point touched on above, it must be no small satisfaction to every Home Ruler to note and scan the following passages in your letter: "I gather that your present activities are due to a feeling of unrest to a consciousness of subordination, to a righteous indignation for the treatment accorded by what you call the present bureaucratic Government and to a natural desire for an expression of the national aspirations of the country. In so far as these demands are an expression of the desire to see righteousness exalted, to see justice meted out everywhere, to redress grievances, to strike at the rod of tyranny and to make for a better, a healthier and a happier condition of life, I think, I in common, with every freedom-loving heart, will welcome". Surely, no clearer and more accurate enunciation of what is politically wanted

for our Motherland can come from any of its children. Consequently I, in my humble capacity of Honorary President of the Home Rule League, welcome you as an out and out Home Ruler, stoutly affirming the justice and propriety of the great cause we all have at heart. Though I must add that I entertain a strong doubt not only as to your "*bona-fides*" but also as to your identity itself for reasons briefly indicated later on.

Now allow me to say, with all deference to you, that it can serve no useful purpose to investigate the question how your community on the one hand, and the various castes and sub-castes on the other, came to evolve as they did in the long past centuries. That may be of interest to antiquarians, but neither you nor I could afford to waste time upon it. For, how to better our present conditions is what imperatively demands our unwearied attention. It were well if your opponents, the Varnashrama Dharma propagandists and yourself, would concentrate all efforts upon the vital question of the goal to be attained from the point of view of the Motherland instead of ruminating over and bewailing the dead past. In other words, how to make the future the best it can be is what all of us, as sensible men, should constantly think about and work for.

Confining my attention to your community let me say that you protest a little too much if you

want the world to believe that the domination of the Brahman over you is still what you want to make it out to be and that the time for your uplift is far off owing to his machinations. The appearance of your letter in the widely circulated daily is itself a conclusive proof of the unfounded character of the first of the above two suppositions! Though in such out of the way places in the West Coast as you refer to the members of your community are still subject to, innuman treatment, you cannot but admit your status here and elsewhere has not only immensely improved but your right as citizens to absolutely equal treatment with all the other castes, is admitted and given effect to by all classes including the accursed Brahmans. How else can you account for the universally respected Editor of the "*Hindu*" feeling himself bound to open its columns to you, Brahman though still he is. Next as to your making headway from the practical point of view in the exercise of your rights as citizens, your present letter is proof positive in the point. Whether the letter, I am replying to, was your own production or was composed by some friend for you I do not know. If the former was the case, its contents, argue on your part, the possession of educational qualifications and ability which will do credit to many a member of that caste, the downfall of which you so devoutly pray for, adopting for the purpose, the language of the truly potent prayer of the Home

Ruler. If, on the other hand, the letter was drawn up by someone in sympathy with you, then it shows you have powerful supporters who will leave no stone unturned in uplifting you in spite of all obstacles in the way if any.

Passing to your alleged determination to block our way to Home Rule, you, in one part of your letter, observe: "The Home Rulers are in a feverish hurry to get liberty and we shall not permit that till they have first practised equality and fraternity; and, God willing, we hope to succeed." It is difficult to see what the drift of your thought is, in the above. Certainly, as you rightly urge, you are not a microscopic minority but constitute about a fifth of the population of the country. And as the grant of Home Rule is in the gift of others than Brahmans who, of course, form but a microscopic minority, it stands to reason that a demand from you for such a due to India, your Motherland as it is mine would carry with it a weight that would not be negligible. In these circumstances most sane men should advise you not to lose the present opportunity of pressing for what you admit is your birth right and without which the chances of your future progress, I assure you, are nil, instead of for puerile reasons foregoing the opportunity of ever obtaining it. I use the expression, puerile, advisedly. For, what do you really mean when you say "till they, Home Rulers,

practise equality and fraternity!" If you are thinking of equality and fraternity in the eye of the law, that you undoubtedly enjoy now. But, on the other hand, if it is equality and fraternity in point of fact in actual society at this stage of human evolution, I am afraid you are looking for a state of things that have so far never existed since man passed from the animal kingdom to the human stage millions and millions of years ago and not likely to be attainable either in the near or distant future.

Here, while passing, I cannot refrain from remarking that there are two ways of bringing about an equality between the varying sections and castes of our country—one, by dragging down the high to the illiterate level of the low, and the other by uplifting the low to the glorious eminence of the high.

But I know only of one method, whereby equality yoked to efficiency, enlightenment and prosperity can be attained, and that is by raising yourself to the level of the elevated.

I know of no other method. Those who profess to be lusty champions of Non-Brahmana interests, have no rights to be leaders at all, if they fail to realise the truth of this.

When Hell grows discontented and resolves to be as high, as free, as happy and as prosperous as Heaven, nothing is more foolish than to pull down

the very fabric of Heaven down to the departments of Hell itself from which it seeks redemption.

Fraternity, liberty and equality are verily the goal of the Home Rulers. The same is purported to be the goal of the anti-Home-Rulers also, but there is this glaring difference, that the Home Rulers endeavour to attain their object by making Heaven of Hell; while the distorted logic of some perverse Indian minds cannot conceive of effecting it, without making a Hell of Heaven. And I trust nothing of the latter is what you contemplate when you say "we shall not permit that. . . . God willing, we hope to succeed." Now let me take up the question of your present low condition. In proceeding to say a few words about it, allow me to point out that you seem to be violently disposed to add to the already crushing weight of some of the moral causes that account for it. For, in so inordinately and wholesale a fashion reviling the Brahman as you do, are you not necessarily and utterly ignoring and denying the splendid service which many a great one, in whom the purest and the noblest Brahman blood flowed, rendered to the untouchables of their time. Take, for instance, what the illustrious Sree Ramanuja did throughout His earthly life towards the uplift of the lowly, the weak and the oppressed in these very parts through unbounded love and infinite compassion for them and of which evidences exist to this very day. Think

again of the similar services rendered by some of the grant Alwars in Their time. Really to ignore all this and persist in your course of unqualified villification of the caste which Those Great Ones thus sanctified is ingratitude that must bring in its train evil results by force of the inexorable karmic law which though you, admitting it in theory, continue to break in actual practice. Be this as it may reverting to your present condition.

You will not deny that it is the bounden duty of rulers to secure to every subject an equal opportunity of developing his whole nature so far as the circumstances of the time and place permit. Such being the case you are obviously laying the blame for the present state of your community, on other than the right shoulders. Of course, it is not the Brahmana and for the matter of that not the members of any other caste who have exercised sovereign power over you for the last century and a quarter. It is the British people, first, through the East India Company indirectly, and then directly since 1858 that have exercised such sway. It was therefore they that should have attended to your wants and not have neglected you as they have done all this time. Take for instance the question of drinking water on which you naturally and rightly lay such stress. Why were you allowed to quench your thirst out of muddy pools? Was there not money enough in the public

treasuries to pay for the construction of the simple wells needed to enable you to live as human beings? What answer has the bureaucracy to make to this pertinent question? None I can see nor any that you can suggest on their behalf. The backward and helpless condition of your community was not hidden from the vision of the rulers and no caste scruple so far as they were concerned stood in the way of mere justice being done to you by them in such a comparatively trivial matter. Who then is to blame but themselves. These observations apply with equal force to almost everything required for your upliftment after the rule passed away from the hands of the Muslim conquerors who preceded our present rulers. This assertion of mine it would be easy for me to substantiate in detail though I cannot do so here except with reference to an all-important item. Even you, I think, must admit that the one panacea for all your ills is education. And I ask without fear of contradiction, has the bureaucracy lifted a finger till now in such a vital matter? Emphatically no. The neglect in this instance was of course not due to any possible obstruction on the part of the Brahmana. Nay, strangely enough, it was a Brahmana who endeavoured to obtain for you among others this panacea, but failed because the bureaucracy would not budge an inch. It was the late Mr. Gokhale as you are aware who pleaded

for compulsory education for all and it will be nothing short of blasphemy to contend that he had proposed to exclude the Panchamas from his scheme; whereas, on the other hand, if truth be told, it was to profit the non-Brahmanas, still more the Panchamas, that he was straining every nerve of his upto the last moment of his life to procure a place for his famous bill in the Statue Book. The failure of his Bill is, as might be expected, due to two reasons, so frequent and familiar in the mouths of the powers that be. The first is that the step was premature,—an objection always resorted to by them when the will to concede is wanting; the second being the ready plea of want of funds. The hollowness of this ground also is manifest. For if there was no money to spare to provide for the very rudiments of education to you indispensable as it is to your existence as other than mere animals, how can there be money enough for adding substantially to the salaries of a large body of officials, constituting the upper service and recruited almost wholly from their kith and kin? Yet remember the Public Service Commission has recommended an increase of expenditure of over half a crore of rupees per annum towards the pay of the above service notwithstanding that the present rates of their salaries are the highest paid in all the countries of the world. And be assured that that amount will somehow be found for the purpose though the

question of your education will stand where it has stood for a century and a quarter except it be unless some much abused moneyed Brahmanas and some branches of the Home Rule League which you take a delight in crying down returning love for hatred should start, by way of private enterprise and benefaction, Panchama Schools and the like where education shall be imparted free to the poor and needy. To cite not many, Olcott's Panchamas' School at Adayar supervised for many years by Mrs. Annie Besant, is it not a happy precursor? The institution in Palghat bearing the happy name of Nandanar School, is it not also a happier augury?

With facts like these before you, how can I believe in the sincerity of your protestations against the alleged Brahmana oppression on the one hand and your determination to stand by the present rule till such alleged oppression ends by the voluntary concession of equality and fraternity to you by those oppressors on the other? This disposition on my part thus to question your sincerity is enhanced by the peculiar circumstances connected with a dispute about the admission of youths of the Thiyya community into the Zamorin's College, in that very locality Thalli to which you refer in one place, in your letter—circumstances of which you cannot be ignorant. Was it not the late lamented Rao Sahib S. Vaidyanadha Iyer, the highly respected Headmaster of the Commercial School, Calicut, the

late Mr. G. Subba Rao, for some time the Vice-Principal of the Zamorin's College, Mr. S. Manjeri Rama Iyer and others who strongly backed up your cause and tried to get admission for those youths in that College but failed owing to no fault of their own? With prominent exceptions within your knowledge like these among the members of the Brahmana community who are co-operating with many more less known towards the amelioration of the untouchables all over the land, I cannot but ascribe your indiscriminate denunciation of that caste as a whole to a sinister purpose on your part. I am compelled to think that your letter is not the genuine expression of any real Panchama but a make-believe production by one or other of those gentlemen who, from purely mercenary motives, are playing into the hands of the bureaucracy that withhold from you the right to Home Rule, the need for which your own backward condition loudly warrants.

Lastly, assuming I am wrong in my supposition that you are not a Panchama brother unfortunately labouring under a hallucination as to the propriety of your co-operating with us, active Home Rulers, let me request you to consider the light in which this all-important question of Home Rule has been presented in the course of a brilliant address delivered within the last fortnight in Calcutta by one who is beyond reproach from every point of

view, who is just now the most honoured in the Motherland, who enjoys a continental, nay, a world-wide reputation as a philosopher and poet, and who is above all an outspoken and warm-hearted patriot. I, of course, refer to Sir Rabindranath, the very embodiment of truth and purity. He is as absolutely conscious as you are of the disservice done to the Motherland by Brahmana domination as he himself explains it in that very address. Just ponder over the strenuous claims he nevertheless makes for the immediate grant of Home Rule and be disillusioned.

I venture to say: Be assured of your future greatness if you can only secure that right to education which is as necessary to you as fresh air is for your breathing. Insist upon your right in this matter and through the culture that you would derive through your education you can push your way to the front as Tiruvalluvar of the Kural fame, himself an untouchable, did 2,000 years ago when he rested his seat among the elect in the great assembly of the learned and in whose honour a number of the good people of this city including some Brahmanas held a festival the other day in the shrine dedicated to him and started a Fund for the promotion of the study of his immortal teachings. I implore you to give up the deplorable spirit which makes you say you will obstruct the demand for Home Rule though it is intrinsically just because

of your hate to your neighbour, the Brahmana. For if you so act you will be but following the ridiculous example of the man who, to spite his enemy, had his own nose most ludicrously cut in the fond hope of making a more satanic grimace to his heart's content at that enemy's face. Be not so foolish. Adieu, Panchama brother.

I would conclude with informing you that it is not possible for me to take notice of any future epistles you may think fit to address me. With so much other important useful and urgent work before me to do, it would be criminal on my part to spend my time on such fruitless and vain discussions. Believe me time just now is too precious to the Home Ruler to be so wasted. Farewell!

WOMEN AND HOME RULE.

[*The following reply (27th September, 1917) of Sir S. Subramania Iyer is to a letter to him from a dancing girl*:—]

T. M., K. AMMAL,—I am in receipt of your letter. Allow me to say that I was extremely struck with its contents. It goes most strongly to confirm the impression made upon my mind by many other vernacular communications received by me from all parts of the Presidency, since the 6th June last, which will be a memorable day in our annals. What you say furnishes excellent proof, first, of the fact that the idea of Home Rule has obtained a strong hold on the minds of all sections of the community including the very exceptional and very limited class to which you belong, and next that your understanding of the subject is surprisingly complete.

In reply to your question, whether yourself and others in your position will be admitted as members of the Home Rule League, my answer undoubtedly is, as it should be, in the affirmative. Surely our Movement and the League, which is the organ of that Movement, is not intended for the exclusive

benefit of any one section of the Indian people, but for all, in the most comprehensive view.

Again no doubt the direct object of the movement is the *political emancipation* of His Majesty's Indian subjects at large. Nevertheless the spirit which underlies the movement extends to, covers, and bears upon, all the important aspects of their life. This was pointed out by that ornament of Indian womanhood, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, with her usual felicity, in the course of a speech made by her during the Congress Session of 1915, if my memory serves me right, though at this moment I am unable to recall to memory her exact words. In all these circumstances to raise any objection to your admission as a member of the League would be to deny your unquestionable right to take part in the National movement, in spite of the disabilities which you labour under socially by reason of an injurious custom to which your class is unfortunately subject. I have no right to assume, and I do not assume that, though you describe yourself as a *Dasi*, you lead the life followed generally by those who are so described. Even assuming it were otherwise, that should not stand in the way of your participating in the great movement in the peculiar circumstances of your case. For, it is not from personal inclination that your course of life is what it is on the assumption I have made above, but to the cruel pressure of an immemorial usage for which the Hindu community

as a whole is really responsible and not individual members like yourself. Therefore to withhold from you and others in your position the right to participate in our work would be altogether wrong on our part as officials of the League, and on receipt of your reply you will be duly admitted on the usual terms. In saying this, it is, however, my duty to point out that your admission is subject to the understanding that you will do what you can to liberate the members of your class from the thraldom of the evil custom of which they are the victims. Not to demand and expect this service from you in the interests of the fair sex in the Motherland would be inconsistent with the essential spirit which, as has been already pointed out, underlies the Home Rule movement, and it is needless to say that myself and others concerned in the movement will not fail to render such support as lies in our power towards the betterment of the members of your class. No doubt the condition of a *Dasi* in her household where natural family ties are not absent is infinitely better than the relation subsisting between the wretched inmates of a house of ill-fame and its inhuman and brutal keeper who contributes so much to the repulsiveness of a certain phase of the city life, for instance, of Bombay due perhaps specially to its very close contact with the West. Still no man with right feelings can but admit that it is his duty

to strive towards the amelioration of *Deva Dasis* along with the rest of the depressed humanity which is a disgrace to the Hindu community. Hence it is that I couple your admission into the League with an obligation on your part to endeavour to improve and reform the present deplorable state of the members of your community. At all events, a steady recognition by you of the propriety of such an attitude on your part is a *sine qua non* to your continuance as a member of the League and co-worker with us. Otherwise, we should be exposing ourselves to the charge that the League is left open to the indiscriminate admission of persons, whose moral sense has become blunt and deadened, as it must be taken to be in those who are accustomed to look upon the ordinary life of a *Dasi* as not altogether blameworthy and not far from normal. To such a charge everyone must admit our organisation should not lay itself open.

CONGRESS PRESIDENTSHIP.*

I

I trust I may be permitted to revert to the all-absorbing subject of the election of the President of the next session of the Indian National Congress which is to meet in December next. The Session will mark the commencement of a great epoch in the annals of India, if we are destined to be so fortunate as to hold it this year. That it must be such an epoch-making session, no one can doubt, having regard to the interdict by the Government of the grand meeting that was to be held recently in the Town Hall of Calcutta to protest against the internments of Mrs. Annie Besant and her two co-workers, even if other events, which have been occurring for the last four or five months, could have left any doubt in the matter. There can be no two opinions that the prohibition of that meeting is the final intimation to us all of the repressive policy which has its source in the Government of India at Simla, whose decision the local satraps are carrying out as mere puppets, strategically manipulated. The latest pronouncement of one of them, the Governor of Bombay, that the Congress propaganda does not stand on a different footing from the work of the

* For 32nd I. N. Congress.

Home Rule League, cannot but destroy all hopes in the minds of those few amongst us, who have continuously tried to differentiate between the two, under the hallucination that such a distinction may find favour in the eyes of the Viceroy. With the destruction of such cherished hopes, the expectation that their lead may save the present situation and allow the national sentiment a chance of fair-play, either on the present occasion or at any time in the future, must be taken as completely blasted. In a word, our present position may be described as one in which even the slightest prattle about our legitimate political aspirations by whatsoever name they may be called, Self-Government, Home Rule, or any other, is a thing that is proscribed. To imagine a more deplorable condition is simply impossible. It is in such a state of things that the coming session of the Congress will have to be held. I, for one, do not think it at all unlikely that the Government, which prohibited the Town Hall meeting of Calcutta, will see any objection in stopping the meetings of the Congress session.

It is proclaimed, as it is, that the Madras interments were not fit subjects for discussion in the capital of a sister Presidency, who can pretend to say that similar reasons will not hold good, in the view of the Government, regarding questions and subjects that may be debated and resolved upon during the Congress session, among which the

injustice of the imprisonment of the three patriots must certainly be a very important one?

In these circumstances, Congressmen should have but one object in view, that of giving one pointed expression to their chief aim, *viz.*, Home Rule, the expression being followed by conduct capable of impressing unmistakably upon the maintainers of the repressive policy that we are prepared to suffer every possible cruelty at their hands in the pursuit of our ends constitutionally. To my mind the one-pointed expression just mentioned cannot be more emphatically given than by the unanimous election of Mrs. Besant as President by all the Congress Committees concerned. The moral effect of it no one can belittle, since it must show that the accredited representatives of all India are agreed in treating her claim for Home Rule and her work for the Cause as their own. The election of no other person can bring home to the minds of the authorities the conviction that Home Rule has taken deep root in the country, that nothing that the authorities can do will ever eradicate it, and that the greater the repression the firmer will the idea be imprinted in the hearts of the people. Having regard to the absolute necessity for creating such a conviction on the mind of the bureaucrat, I feel sure that all other considerations should be dropped out of sight by Congress Committees in arriving at their decision with reference to the election of the President.

Among other things, not even the thought of securing the honour of presiding at the epoch-making Session to this or that Indian Leader, out of consideration for his past services, should be allowed to weigh for one moment, even assuming that the services of any of them can at all compare with what has been accomplished by this Friend of India within the last three years during which incredibly short period she has worked up the question of Self-Government so marvellously as to make it reach the critical stage it finds itself now in. It is this very position, so unpalatable to the authorities, that obviously accounts for their panic-stricken and unrelenting course of action ; though, contrary to their expectations, it is bringing up quickly to the surface the deep seated patriotism and intense love of the ancient Motherland in the heart of every Indian, and stirring up indignation and resentment as well, the extent of which, strange political blindness due to intense selfishness, alone prevents them from gauging.

I may, however, without fear of contradiction, assert that the claim of no leader, now living amongst us, can stand in the face of hers, who has, as it were, by one marvellous stroke of her pen and by equally marvellous power of her tongue uplifted us to the point of vantage we are now occupying.

I wish to add a few words with reference to what to my mind appears to be even a stronger reason in

support of the adoption of my suggestion. It is that her election may arrest the deterioration of her health, which is now rapidly declining and producing upon the minds of those who have recently met her, serious apprehensions as to her being able to stand much longer the cruel incarceration, indignity and sufferings, she is now subjected to, at her time of life, in the moist and inclement climate, to which she has been, for over a quarter of a century, an utter stranger, by inspiring in her mind the hope of rendering one great and signal service at the great National Assembly as its chosen head and thus making her to will to prolong her life in our midst, however much so many of her own colour and race might wish to see that life brought to an ignoble end.

It is scarcely necessary for me to say that, if, notwithstanding her election, she is prevented from attending the Congress by reason of her detention or otherwise, such a contingency can, of course, be provided for in strict accordance with the rules of the Congress Constitution.

In conclusion, I crave permission to advert to a personal matter. Though my name is amongst those suggested for Presidentship by more than one Congress Committee, yet I feel it my duty unreservedly to state that in the present circumstances, I can never think of taking any part in the Congress proceedings, if that would be permitted, except as

Mrs. Besant's deputy and in her name. For I fully believe that no one in India has a greater right to enjoy that privilege or possesses greater capacity to discharge the duties which would devolve upon the spokesman of the Indian nation at this momentous crisis than she, the eminence of whose services is universally acknowledged. The air here is thick with rumours of all sorts which make me think that these lines of mine may be the last that NEW INDIA will be able to publish. Consequently, it is but natural that I feel it right not to delay placing my humble opinion, through its columns, regarding the vital subject I have been discussing, before those Congressmen into whose hands the future welfare of India stands committed.

May they rise to the occasion and act with that wisdom, insight, honesty and unity, that will tend to open the eyes of the British Democracy, who alone can prevent things reaching an utterly irremediable and desperate plight and save the Motherland and the Empire at this hour of sore peril to both.—(*New India*, 1*st August*, 1917.)

II

Four of the Provincial Congress Committees have already voted in favour of the election of Mrs. Annie Besant as President of the next Indian

National Congress. One more such vote from any one of the remaining committees would ensure her election for the great office and prove to demonstration the absolute confidence she enjoys now practically throughout India. Thus her voice from the Presidential Chair will be the united voice of India. We shall soon know whether the remaining Provincial Congress Committees also will vote for her. But even if there be any exception it is certain that the one vote wanted to give her the required majority will be forthcoming almost immediately.

It is therefore time that we should consider what the next step to be taken in the matter is. I beg to suggest that, as soon as the result of the deliberations of the remaining Provincial Congress Committees is ascertained, a petition be presented to the Parliament on behalf of the whole of the members of all the Provincial Congress Committees as well as the members of the All-India Congress Committee asking for the cancelment of the order of internment against the President-elect in time to enable her to attend the Session of the Congress in question in the last week of December next, with an alternative prayer that pending the decision of the House upon the broad question of the illegality of her internment and that of her co-workers, that such orders be made and directions given as will enable

her to be present in Calcutta for the short period necessary for her to preside at the Congress in pursuance of the wish of the representatives of His Majesty's subjects in all the Provinces of this part of his Empire. If this humble suggestion of mine is accepted, as I trust it will be, not even a day should be lost and the All-India Congress Committee should at once arrange for the preparation of the petition and cause it to be presented as soon as possible. I shall feel that more than one friend which our Motherland has the good fortune of possessing in the House of Commons will be glad to do us the favour of presenting the petition on our behalf. The most inspiring and kindly letter addressed by the Right Hon. Commander Wedgewood to the Hon. Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and myself which appeared in these columns on Monday will show the very powerful support our Home Rule Cause is receiving at the hands of the liberal and labour members in the House of Commons. And if we request the Hon. Member, who has been good enough to send us the hopeful message contained in his letter, who has already rendered signal service for our Motherland by what he has claimed for her in his now famous disssenting minute appended to the Mesopotamia Commission Report, who, as everyone knows, subjected Mr. Chamberlain to so searching and effective a

cross examination in connection with the internments of Mrs. Besant and who is determined to secure justice to India and thereby prevent the fair name of England from being tarnished, I have no doubt he will do us the honour of presenting the petition on our behalf. Whatever be the outcome of the petition to be so presented with reference to the actual prayers it would contain, there can be no doubt that the matter of these internments and the repressive policy now so much in evidence in every corner of this country will receive a ventilation by reason of the presentation of the petition that cannot but be productive of substantial advantage to us at no distant date.

I, therefore, appeal to all the members of the Provincial Congress Committees and the All-India Congress Committee to bestir themselves in the matter without delay. I take this opportunity of requesting those friends who are now devoting themselves heart and soul to the national cause, Home Rule, to take courage from the words of Commander Wedgewood, so sympathetically addressed to us and imprint indelibly upon their minds the wise counsel he has been pleased to give us, namely that our ultimate success depends upon our efforts alone, that such success cannot be attained without the utmost sacrifice, involving, as the Commander puts it, "the loss of

employment and promotion, petty persecution, even the loss of fortune and freedom ; all these you may have to face." We are asked lastly and above all completely to avoid resort to violence in any shape. We should also lay to heart the warning he gives us that the failure to observe the last and the most important part of his advice would result in the utter forfeiture of the powerful support of not only the British Democracy in whose hands the interests of the Motherland stand committed by providence, but also of all the Democracies in the world.

It only remains for me to add that the letter from Mr. John Barron which also was received by me by the last mail . . . . . .

. . shows the great attention the autocratic proceedings in this country are receiving at the hands of lovers of liberty in the United Kingdom. And it shows that the internments which have been the source of so much sorrow and pain to us are in a sense blessings in disguise, having regard to the fact that they have contributed to the evincing of an interest in the affairs of India on the part of the British nation never before shown. These letters of Commander Wedgewood and of Mr. John Barron are striking signs of the times and must be a reproof to those time-servers in this country who counsel the adoption of measures that would please

the powers that be in this country instead of placing ourselves in the hands of the freedom-loving Democracy of England and obtaining the fulfilment of our aspirations.—*New India*, 22*nd August*, 1911.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

I HAVE been asked to pronounce my views on the now famous Manifesto of our seven friends that appeared on the 24th* instant in the local dailies. I say seven, having regard to the attitude assumed the other day by the Hon. Mr. Venkatapathi Raju whom I can no longer rightly treat as a party to the document or take him when he originally subscribed to it as more than sinned against. Though it is a little late for me to comply with the request, yet I think I ought to do so considering the part I took in the meeting held to welcome the workers from Bombay who came with the message regarding Passive Resistance, which occupies now so much of our attention and to which the Manifesto relates. After what took place at the meetings of the Special Provincial Conference just over in regard to this Manifesto, any discussion thereof by me now may seem like flogging a dead horse. But that will not be really so when one sees the view I take of this unburdening of the souls of the seven signatories.

I may at once frankly say that its effect upon me was not quite what it produced on some others. In the first place, I have come to look upon it as a

* 24-8-1917.

useful contribution to our knowledge of the important subject dealt with in it and thus welcome to Home Rulers who wish to be as enlightened on the subject as a considerable number among them has already been. As might be expected from the position, attainments and responsibility of all the signatories and the special qualification as members of the legal profession of five out of the seven, their opinion on such a subject at this critical juncture cannot but be worth knowing ; and it must be no small satisfaction to us all to learn that the deliberated decision of these leaders is that Passive Resistance is from every point of view constitutional and desirable, and that we should not hesitate to resort to it when the conditions warranting such resort are found to be present. The value of such a decision is enhanced by the fact that, as might be expected from what we know of the habit of citing precedents, characteristic of one of the signatories and so conspicuous in the deliberations of our Legislative Council, pointed reference is made to two of the latest and best known precedents, that of Dr. Clifford in Great Britain and that of Mr. Gandhi here in Champaran the other day. It would have added still more to the merit of the paper had some reference been made to the famous essay on the subject by Thoreau, dealing with the question in his masterly fashion and arguing it out upon broad fundamental

principles governing human conduct, instead of merely as a technical legal question. For the information of those who might wish to supplement their knowledge of the subject by a perusal of this lucid and illuminating essay, I should state that it will be found in volume 4 of the Scott Library at pp. 86—106. In justice to the signatories of the Manifesto, I ought to say that, though they make no express reference to the essay in their paper, yet I take it that they had it in their minds when they alluded to the non-payment of taxes which, as Thoreau points out, is the most obvious and effective form of Passive Resistance. I repeat, therefore, that every one amongst us Home Rulers should feel thankful to the signatories of the Manifesto for giving the authority of their approval to the position that Passive Resistance is a legitimate remedy for the redress of our grievances, when necessary.

In passing, I would suggest that, as a matter of nomenclature, it would be well if we could substitute "Passive Remedy" for "Passive Resistance" or speak of it as Thoreau does "Civil Disobedience". The phrase "Passive Remedy" would better express the real nature of the protest under reference. The word resistance may at first sight suggest activity against some one else, whereas there is nothing of the kind involved in it. All the activity in the case is directed against one's own self; in other words, the man, who resorts to the remedy in question,

turns his activity towards himself with a view to invoke what Mr. Ghandi, the prince of Passive Resisters, has appropriately called "Soul Force" which, by its potency, brings about the extinction of all mere brute physical force directed unjustly against the wielder of the Soul Force.

Whilst thus treating the Manifesto without disapprobation, from the point of view I have endeavoured to indicate above, I should not fail to draw attention to its very questionable character from another and perhaps the more important point of view, I mean, that of conciliating the authorities and calming the political atmosphere of the country pending the arrival of Mr. Montagu which apparently is the avowed object of the signatories. In this latter view, the whole tenor of the paper cannot but be deemed as ill-advised and objectionable. For, if the object was the professed one, where was the necessity for a detailed examination of the nature and scope of Passive Resistance, the very mention of which must excite in the official mind thoughts of disorder and disobedience, so unpleasant for them to contemplate? More than that, where was the necessity for the formal exposition of nature and scope, supported by precedents, of the conditions under which resort should be had to the remedy? Surely if they had truly this object in view, one should expect that all this parade of the subject would

have been avoided, emphasis laid on the appropriateness of postponing all discussions in the matter and the utter impolicy of considering it as a practical remedy strongly insisted on. The flagrant omission of the adoption of such an obvious and simple course by the signatories has, I regret to say, laid them open to well-founded criticism from both sides, the Home Rulers on the one hand, and the authorities on the other.

Now the complaint on the part of the former is something to the following effect. They ask, and not without reason, that if the real intention of the signatories was to offer advice to Home Rulers, with a view to ease the situation and bring about a better understanding between them and the authorities, why did not the signatories defer it till the meeting of the Conference, that was to take place the very next day, and urge their views in the meeting itself? They likewise ask whether, if this natural course had been followed, it was not likely that the advice would have stood greater chance of its being considered *bona fide*. They further wish to know why publicity was sought for the views of the signatories in the manner it was effected, namely, by the appearance of the Manifesto not only in *New India* and the *Hindu* but also in dailies violently opposed to Home Rule? In such circumstances, is it unreasonable for these people, labouring under grave provocation

owing to the repressive measures so odious to them to think that the real object of the signatories was to ingratiate themselves with the authors of that repression, for reasons difficult to discover from the point of view of these whose one aim is to bring about the immediate reversal of the policy of internment which is utterly destructive of all freedom, even of speech, before any *entente cordiale* between the authors of repression and themselves can be thought of. Surely, it ought to have occurred to the signatories that no one who felt the wrong inflicted by the internments in question upon the Indian people could think of negotiating for peace, much less of making overtures for bringing about a spirit of friendliness and co-operation when the Secretary of State arrives in this country, unless the internments have been quashed and the martyrs are at liberty again to help Mr. Montagu in his fresh and exceptional undertaking. How then can the signatories expect to be believed that they are persons feeling aggrieved at the internments when, instead of recommending the adoption of the one and only effective remedy that could bring about the desired end, they try to persuade us to abandon the remedy for what will practically be an indefinite time, to commence from now and continue down to the period when the British Parliament may be pleased to dispose of the question of Indian political reforms as a whole.

No doubt, the signatories take the precaution in the Manifesto to refer to the internments and the necessity for their termination. It is scarcely necessary to say that the best test of the truth of one's words is to be found in one's conduct. And taking what they say as to the internments along with the advice to desist from Passive Resistance, it is not easy to avoid the inference that their words here lack that sincerity which is to be expected of their authors in the circumstances. I would go further and add that the whole tenor of the thing implies not merely an indifference to the physical suffering to which the interned persons are subject, but also a strange callousness to their mental distress, and to the shame they are exposed to in our very midst. The case here is really that of three zealous servants being unjustly put into stocks, as it were, by reason of the performance of their duty with commendable devotion and the master contenting himself with dropping a word of pious hope as to the servants soon regaining their liberty and proceeding straightway to make terms with his enemy for purposes of his own, leaving the servants to their fate. It is not surprising that such conduct of the signatories did not very much appeal to that large body of honest Home Rulers whom they tried their best to persuade to follow their own example.

In this connection, a few words are necessary regarding what is said to have fallen in the course

of the discussion of the subject in the Conference from one of the signatories. He is stated to have remarked that, if the advice to desist from Passive Resistance be not acted upon, the consequence will be the loss of those advantages to the country which are likely to be gained by the peaceful behaviour recommended by him and his friends and that it would not be long before his prediction proves true. One could hardly treat the prediction as proceeding from a true prophet who was trying to warn evil-doers of the dangerous result of their misdeeds. As he who runs may read, what really underlies the advice in question is something personal to the would-be prophet and some of his friends, and not what bears upon the interests of his hearers, as would be seen from what appears in the concluding part of this letter. Would that the prophet and his friends who are such lusty champions of peace at any price condescend a little to listen to the tidings which are reaching us from Coimbatore since yesterday, whilst their eloquent pleas in favour of such peace are still ringing in our ears. Would that these champions ponder over the passages in Thoreau's essay in which he, with deserved severity, lashes all who, under conditions similar to ours now, refuse to act like men and do their plain duty by way of civil disobedience, but instead, are ludicrously engaged in inventing excuses for their conduct—excuses that could satisfy only those whose

consciences in the matter are utterly perverted and depraved. Be this as it may; assuming for argument's sake that, as the prophet predicts, the country will gain this or that advantage by the adoption of the course recommended by the signatories, the inevitable answer of all honourable Home Rulers must be, "let the country perish rather than that it should gain any advantage at the sacrifice of its honour, which the adoption of the course would involve." It is such lamentable proneness to act upon selfish motives and to submit to servility that accounts for most of our present evils and misfortunes and makes us look so abject in the eyes of westerners who naturally are thereby tempted to treat us as mere slaves. Until this trait of our character becomes far less pronounced than is at present the case, there is little hope of our betterment. It is needless to say that this conduct of the signatories can only alienate those in whom all feeling of gratitude is not extinct and who hold that their first duty is to claim back their leaders now under unworthy restraint and to leave everything else till that object has been attained. No wonder all this was made absolutely plain by the special resolution passed at the Conference by an overwhelming majority of over 300 as against 22. So much for the unfortunate relation in which the signatories to the Manifesto have placed themselves by their unwitty conduct with reference

to the bulk of the Home Rulers all over the country.

Next, in regard to the view which the authorities are expected to take about the true position of the signatories in the matter of passive remedy, it is certain that they would not be congratulated upon. Had they acted quite straightforwardly by pressing their views at the Conference in the natural manner already suggested and when the decision went against them, sought publicity for their own position disavowing all further connection with the Passive resisters, the signatories may have found it possible to convince the authorities of their professed non-complicity. But the categoric enunciation of their views on the subject supported by the citation of telling precedents contained in the Manifesto cannot but create the impression that their real intention was to recommend Passive Resistance instead of the opposite. For reading the Manifesto as a whole between the lines one cannot help being reminded of the well-known advice: "Have trust in God but keep your powder dry." Do not the signatories in effect say, put your trust if you will in the bureaucrat but keep your powder, the only kind you possess in the shape of passive remedy, dry, that is, be ready to use it the first moment you find yourself in need of it? The talk about calming the atmosphere and all the rest of it in the Manifesto is but padding which none can fail to see through.

In conclusion, it may be asked how and why this singular document came into existence. Full and complete answers to this question could hardly be expected from an outsider like myself. Nevertheless, having dealt with the paper, as I have done above, I ought to attempt to give those answers so far as it is in my power. In doing so, I may begin by stating that it is fairly certain that the document, as it stands, was not drawn up after a joint deliberation of the gentlemen whose names appear on it and as the result of an agreement among them. There seems to be no doubt that it was the work of only two or three of them who first moved in the matter and had it ready cut and dry before the support of the rest was sought. Furthermore, it is a fact that the originators of the document subsequently diligently canvassed for signatures, failing at least in one notable instance, and that a copy of it had previously been sent for publication in one of the dailies, while the canvassing was still going on which accounts for the signature of only seven in what appeared in the *Hindu* and *New India*, while there was one more signature in a third daily.

Next as to the why of the paper, one explanation is to be found in the circumstance, that it will serve as evidence that could be relied upon by the originators of the document, if and when confronted, as is likely to be the case sooner or later, with the

question by persons in high authority as to how they came to be mixed up with this vexed subject of Passive Resistance, evidence which to all appearance would exculpate them from all complicity. Such in brief is the genesis, rise and fall of this paper with its pretentious title of "Manifesto"—a Manifesto only of the unwisdom of attempting to lead astray Home Rulers and Congressmen who are in the way of becoming Home Rulers, from the straight path of their duty to the contrary, however skillful and expert those who embark upon this perilous task, may consider themselves to be in their undertaking.

THE HOME RULE LEAGUE AND INDIAN STATES.

I have been informed that a member of the Home Rule League paid a visit to a city in a Feudatory State adjoining the Presidency, with a view to suggest the formation of a Branch League there; but that nothing further was done. It is well that it was so. For the rules of the League neither contemplate nor authorise the formation of branches outside British territory in India, either with the object of co-operating with the parent League here or for the promotion of Home Rule in those outlying territories. The reason for such restriction must be obvious to all, having regard to the fact that the object of the League is to secure Home Rule for the people of the territories of British India under the administration of the Crown, and only to them. It is scarcely necessary to say that it would be impertinent on our part to think of meddling with the affairs of the subjects in the Feudatory States, even though some of them be our own adjoining neighbours. This is strictly right, however much the respective inhabitants of British and Indian territories may sympathise with each other on this question of Home Rule or on any other matter bearing upon the well-being of both

as the common children of Bharatamatha. It must not be overlooked, for a moment, that Home Rule is in every view a political question and nothing that is done with reference to it by the British Government in its own territory could or should by itself affect the subjects of a Feudatory Ruler or Rulers, though geographically the two peoples live contiguous to each other. Notwithstanding the suzerainty of Britain over the Feudatory States, the latter, for all practical purposes, are foreign territories governed by their own laws and regulations and to be administered by their rulers in the best interests of their subjects. It is thus unnecessary to add anything to what I have said by way of requesting all persons connected with our League to confine their work towards the promotion of the objects of the League as defined and laid down by its rules, subject to such modifications as may from time to time be introduced. In making the above observations I do not, of course, mean to suggest that our friends who reside within the limits of Feudatory States are legally or otherwise precluded from or unqualified for co-operating with us towards the fulfilment of the aims and objects of our League as such. For instance, there is nothing to prevent any person residing out of British Indian territory, becoming a member of our League and helping us, in every way, so long as he is not stopped from doing so by any law or rule binding upon

him as the subject of his own state. Accordingly there are many earnest, able and influential persons who belong to the League, though they are subjects or residents of Feudatory States.

Lest we should be supposed to be altogether selfish in the matter, it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding Home Rule for our brethren outside British territory. No reflecting man can fail to note that the spirit of Democracy is beginning to manifest itself, more or less, everywhere. This wave will necessarily spread itself throughout the whole of India, both British and Feudatory, and no Feudatory State can be oblivious to or escape from its all-embracing influence. Home Rule may become an accomplished fact sooner in one of such territories than in another, but it would not be very, very long before all the people in all the Feudatory States without exception also come to enjoy this birthright of theirs. Signs in this direction are not wanting, though they are as yet neither many nor strong. The highest credit in this matter is due to Mr. C. Rangacharlu, who, with remarkable insight, laid the foundations of popular government in Mysore in the eighties. When, what was thus begun grows into the worthy institution contemplated by its great originator, the striking impetus which is now being given to it by the present large-hearted, far-seeing and tireless Minister at the head of the affairs there, with the

enlightened support of his Royal master will count for not a little.

Real concessions towards popular government by our Feudatory Rulers cannot but entitle them to the never-ending gratitude of their subjects. For, such concessions verily involve laudable sacrifice of power and wealth, of authority and patronage and of other blandishments, an inordinate love for which invariably makes men tyrants in every sphere of life, from the positions of the heads of families to those of Kings and Emperors. Every Indian Potentate, who paves the way for the substitution of limited monarchical Government, of which the noblest example is the British Crown, in place of the more or less arbitrary rule which now prevails in most of our Indian States will certainly rank among the great harbingers of freedom to the Motherland. Surely, he cannot show his patriotism in a more direct, tangible and useful form. Such a benefactor, by investing infant institutions, like the Representative Assembly in Mysore, with real power and by making them exercise it, thereby training their subjects in the glorious art of Self-Rule will necessarily force the hand of British administrators to act similarly within their own territory. If not for setting such an example among others, for whatelse were these States saved from annihilation which overtook certain few of their kind, at the ruthless hands of Lord Dalhousie, the all-absorbing

Pro-Consul of annexation fame? Such preservation of the States was surely not for the mere delectation and enjoyment of this or that single individual, to whose solemn care High Providence has, in Its infinite wisdom, willed to entrust millions and millions of his fellowmen. Of what avail is the existence of such an individual if his heart constantly moveth not for the uplift of those fellow-men? And with what conscience, can any such person think of annexing to his name that noblest of Aryan titles, *Raja* which, by its very etymology, imposes upon him the solemn obligation of a constant endeavour to sweeten the lives of his *soi-disant* subjects unless he strives hard to faithfully discharge so noble a trust? If, bearing all this in mind, our Feudatory Rulers will fail to fulfil their supreme function in this respect, one may venture to say, with all deference, that Destiny will know what to do with them. The lessons to be drawn from recent Russian events must not be altogether lost upon our Chiefs and Princes. The protecting hand of the suzerain in future cannot but come to be used not merely in preventing oppression and misrule, but also in the constructive work of carrying out and hastening the extension of popular government steadily on till such goal is reached throughout this Land of the Rishis.

It gives me pleasure to invite attention to the contributions which appeared in the columns of the

Mysore bi-weekly, *Karnataka*, under the title of "Memorials on the Problems of Native States" to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb Bahadur of Bikaner. The able author of these memorials, Mr. Gundappa, sets out the chief problems likely to arise in connection with the Native States, in so brief and excellent a manner as to warrant the re-publication of his contributions in a pamphlet form, so as to place them within the easy reach of all Home Rulers who will, I am sure, profit by a perusal thereof. The last and the fifth memorial is of special value, touching, as it does, among others, the suggestion well combated by him that, in the political reconstruction of India, territories now under British administration be parcelled out into a number of Indian States, which, with the existing ones, will go to make up Federated India. It is sufficient to say that the altogether retrograde and visionary character of the suggested scheme cannot but preclude its being taken into serious consideration by any responsible authority.

In the interests of the people of India at large, the existence side by side of the Indian States governed by their indigenous rulers on the one hand, with the British Provinces enjoying a true measure of Home Rule on the other, is invaluable, forming, as it were, a worthy political balance, each scale with its precious contents of freedom and liberty, vying to outweigh the other. Such

co-existing administrations must necessarily react upon each other and lead to a healthy rivalry that would result in benefit to both. It is but right to add that the balance of benefit would, in the long run, be in favour of the subjects of the Feudatory States, in most of which the rule is quite autocratic now. This last mentioned state of things cannot, as I have already stated, go on long. The claim for more attention to the wishes and the voice of the people in them will pronounce itself sufficiently strongly, so as to make it the duty of the Suzerain to seek compliance with it, as Self-Government gains ground more and more in the surrounding British territory. It may not be superfluous to add that, to see in the present intermingling condition of British territory and Feudatory States accident and chaos and nothing more is a fatal error. On the contrary, it must be clear that the British territories in question were designed by those, who are guiding the destinies of the Motherland from behind the scenes, as the theatre wherein the new spirit of the West was to work and metamorphose this ancient land to the necessary extent, while the Feudatory States were to serve as receptacles of those phases of indigenous life, ideas and institutions that deserve preservation and incorporation in the new order of things. Furthermore, the existence of a tiny territory as Sandur, on the one hand, with that of the extensive domin-

ions of the Nizam, on the other, of the cocoanut palmgroves of Laccadives and Maldives off the Malabar Coast, with that of Kashmir, the garden of the world in the extreme Himalayan tract, all points to the necessity of multiplicity of administrative units on a scale large and small, in order to meet the needs of a population so large and diversified as ours, speaking many languages, following different faiths and subject to habits and customs varying from each other to so remarkable a degree.

In conclusion, it remains only to say that though we have no right ourselves to agitate for Home Rule for the people within the territories of Indian States, yet our work as members of the League is bound to be of educative value to them also. None inspired by the modern spirit of democracy can help thinking that the Government of the people, for the people, and by the people, ought to be an ideal to the children of India, attainable sooner or later in every part of it. True lovers of the Motherland should, therefore, ever remember the advice of the oldest, the earliest, and the foremost of Indian politicians, Dadabbai Naoroji, the sage of Versowa and the modern Bhishma. It was, as we all know, "agitate, agitate for the goal of self-rule till it is attained." Likewise should be remembered the dying words of the latest and the youngest of our

patriots who passed away under extremely tragic circumstances the other day, I mean the founder of *New Era*. The prophetic message delivered by him Abhimanyu-like, as his brave and brilliant life was ebbing away, ran: "Agitate vigorously and victory is nigh."

A MEMORIAL TO VICEROY.

[*To His Excellency the Governor-General in Council.*]

[*The humble Memorial of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, K. C. I. E., Honorary President, Home Rule League, Madras.*]

That your Memorialist craves permission to place before Your Excellency in Council certain facts and circumstances which will explain the state of public feeling in this Presidency, and also in other parts of India, owing to the fact that no effect has yet been given to the promise conveyed by Your Excellency's Government in a reply by Sir William Vincent to the Hon. Mr. Jinnah's interpellation, and confirmed by Your Excellency's speech when opening the Council on September 5th (1917.)

Having regard to the procedure followed by the Executive authorities in this Presidency in furtherance, it is believed, of the Confidential Circular issued by Your Excellency's Government in or about March last with reference to the Home Rule Movement, your Memorialist ventures to submit that the tension of public feeling at the present moment is so strong as to make it imperative on Your Excellency's Government to take steps to allay it. In making this statement, your Memori-

alist is only actuated by an earnest desire to co-operate with the Government and to secure the calm atmosphere which the Government is so desirous of ensuring at this important juncture, and not with the slightest idea of causing any embarrassment to the authorities here or elsewhere. This will be evident from the facts hereinafter referred to which are incontrovertible.

With reference to the question of the release of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia still interned in Coimbatore, your Memorialist begs to bring to Your Excellency's notice that assurances have already been given by Mrs. Besant that, as in the past, so in the future she will not use "unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation," but so far the Memorialist is aware without any effect. Your Memorialist has been informed and believes that a telegram on the point placed by her in the hands of the Censor on the 10th instant with Rs. 100 for the telegraphic charges has not yet been transmitted by him; and that the reply to a telegram addressed by her friends to the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government was only to the effect that the Government had nothing to add to Sir William Vincent's reply; and that to a further communication inquiring the probable date of the release of the interned, no reply has yet been received. This singular reticence on the part of the Local Government coupled with the

threatening utterances of the local daily, the *Madras Mail*, believed to be in the confidence of the authorities, lends strong confirmation to the prevalent impression that there is a systematic and organised opposition on the part of the whole Anglo-Indian community, official and non-official, to the carrying out of the decision of Your Excellency as to the release of the interned parties, and that the delay is due to this and no other cause.

The said impression which was in itself very strong before the meeting of Your Excellency's Legistlative Council on the 13th instant has been intensified by the remarkable speech of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

Your Memorialist doubtless has no title whatever to raise any protest against the spirit which pervades His Honour's speech throughout, the spirit of defiance of all but those happy Punjabees, high and low, who have enjoyed the rare good fortune of more than parental care at the hands of His Honour, during the last four eventful years of his memorable administration, the praises whereof no human lips save his own can rightfully and adequately sing and in fittingly boastful terms.

Nevertheless your Memorialist feels he ought not to shrink from pointing out that the whole tenor of the speech.....is calculated.....to rouse the strongest feelings of the

antagonism between His Honour's Province, the Punjab, and all the other Provinces, and that this invidious comparison was quite uncalled for with reference to the subject of discussion or the support which His Honour intended to give to the Hon. Mr. Shafi's resolution. The fact that His Honour went out of the way to bring in the subject of Home Rule and made it the ground for personal attacks on many of his honourable colleagues connected with this movement, and even went to the length of wantonly charging them with breach of their allegiance as members of the Legislative Council, necessarily leads to the conclusion that His Honour was voicing in the Legislative Council the feelings of the Anglo-Indian community as a whole and giving advised expression to their hostility towards the aspirations of the people. It is hardly necessary to lay stress on the utter inappropriateness of such a speech on the part of a member occupying the position of the Governor of a Province, in the Council at a meeting from which Your Excellency was absent, following Your Excellency's speech accepted on all hands as intended and calculated to conciliate all sections of the community, in view to preparing the ground for a calm discussion of the grave questions during the impending visit of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State.

Passing on to the special facts contributing to the continuance and intensification of the strained

relations locally, your memorialist begs to draw Your Excellency's attention to what is known as the Coimbatore Flag Case. The three interned parties, Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia removed from Ootacamund and took up their residence in Coimbatore in a detached bungalow on the outskirts of the town in respectable and perfectly quiet surroundings by the 23rd of August. On the afternoon of the 25th a flag, which had been used for over a month in Gulistan, where the interned resided in Ootacamund, was hoisted in the compound of their new residence at Coimbatore and continued flying without the least sign of disturbance on the part of anyone till noon of the following day, when a party of armed police, thirty strong, headed by the Deputy Magistrate and subordinates, appeared on the scene and called upon Mrs. Besant to cause the flag to be removed ; and on her declining to comply with the request proceeded forthwith to take down the pole and carted away the materials, flag and all. The formal preliminary order on the subject by Mr. Machmicæl, the District Magistrate, which, by the way, was served on Mrs. Besant and the others only after the said incident, was passed *exparte*. On application made for hearing by Mrs. Besant and others, the case finally came on for enquiry on the 1st instant (September 1917) and was inquired into on several days and the final order was communicated to Mrs. Besant on the 12th idem.

The full text of the order having appeared in more than one daily newspaper, your memorialist thinks it unnecessary to encumber this memorial by annexing a copy thereof. It is sufficient to state that the order is taken up with details of the proceedings which are of no relevancy here, and the really necessary portion thereof consists of but one sentence which will be found set out presently.

The memorialist begs to point out that the order is not appealable under the Law. No doubt an application for Revision of the Order will lie to the High Court, but such application for practical purposes may be taken as infructuous; having regard to the fact that the period of two months commencing from the 27th August covered by the Order is most likely to expire before the matter comes to be disposed of by the High Court, should an application for revision be made. The parties affected are thus without remedy with reference to what, in the circumstances, is an unusually arbitrary and uncalled for interference with the simplest private rights. The whole case hinged on the question of the imminence of a breach of peace as laid down by the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and numerous decisions of the highest Courts bearing thereon, no order of the kind in question should be passed without the clearest proof of the likelihood of such disturbance. The sole issue, therefore, for

the Magistrate to decide was, whether there was any such likelihood, and his finding had, of course, to be upon legal evidence. Admittedly, the prosecution called no witnesses nor filed any admissible documentary evidence. Upto the very end of the trial, the whole case for the prosecution rested upon the sworn statement of the Superintendent of Police who, however, was not called in as a witness and submitted to cross-examination.

On the other side, a number of witnesses were called who, point blank, denied that there was any disturbance or room for disturbance of any kind. In this state of the case, Mr. Macmichæl confirmed his original order resting his decision on the ground thus expressed by himself: "In addition to that statement (Police Superintendent's statement) it was within my personal knowledge that the state of feelings between the Brahmanas and the non-Brahmanas of the Coimbatore Town was such that a disturbance of public tranquillity or riot or affray was imminent, if the flying of the flag or the hoisting of a light, was allowed to continue." Mr. Macmichæl concedes in a later passage that the statement of the Superintendent of Police was not evidence. He thus, necessarily, bases his decision entirely upon his own alleged knowledge of the alleged strained relations between Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas of Coimbatore. It is scarcely necessary to state that it is elementary law that a

Judge is precluded from basing his judgment upon facts or circumstances taken by him to be within his knowledge but which are not proved, as they should be, by Legal Evidence; proceedings under Section 144, Cr. P.C. in question being no exception to the applicability of such rule as to the necessity for evidence as basis for a valid judgment. When this rule of Law was not complied with and conclusions were sought to be supported by the mere personal knowledge of the Judge, his decisions in such cases have been, as a matter of course, quashed on the ground of illegality of procedure going to the very root of the matter and necessarily leading to a failure of Justice. The strongest fact in the present case is that, during the whole course of the enquiry, Mr. Macmichæl made no reference whatever to his alleged knowledge on which his decision now entirely turns, thus making it impossible for the parties to have asked for a removal of the trial to another Court as they would have done, had he given the last intimation of what is now put forward as the sole foundation of his judgment.

In all the above circumstances, the irresistable conclusion is that Mr. Macmichæl had from the very beginning, when he sent out the police party to pull down the flag, made up his mind on the subject that the enquiry which ensued was but a farce and that when the Magistrate found himself

without a particle of Legal Evidence to support his foregone conclusion, that conclusion found expression as a matter of personal knowledge as to the imminence of a disturbance of public tranquillity. Your memorialist believes that in the whole range of judicial proceedings in this country no more flagrant an instance of illegal procedure resulting in gross injustice, can be pointed out. It is impossible to believe that an officer of the standing of Mr. Macmichæl in service exercising the powers of a First Class Magistrate, and controlling all the different and numerous Magistrates throughout the District, could really be ignorant of such a fundamental and simple rule of British Judicature, that a judicial decision by a Judge should not rest on his own alleged knowledge of facts, not proved by any evidence whatever on record—a rule of that British justice, the introduction of which is taken to be among the greatest benefits conferred on His Majesty's Indian subjects by the present Government.

Your memorialist humbly submits that Mr. Macmichæl's conduct in case in question is calculated to bring the administration of justice into contempt. It is all the more so, having regard to the prevalent belief that some of the Collectors at least are vigorously exerting themselves towards the suppression of the Home Rule movement and by means not creditable to the service to which they belong in

the supposed execution of their duty under the confidential circular of the Government of India of March last already referred to. Other instances of similar attempts to repress by Executive Officers have occurred in the district of Chingleput and elsewhere with which, however, your memorialist is unwilling to take up your Excellency's time by detailed reference to them particularly because more or less they are yet *sub judice*. Your memorialist should not fail to add that it is the subordinate police and the lowest ranks among them that are allowed to take the most prominent part in this dead-set against Home Rule work, and it is impossible to exaggerate the danger of providing such fresh unheard of opportunity and scope for the abuse of their powers—a scope and opportunity unattended by those safeguards provided by law with reference to their legitimate functions and duties in connection with the prevention of crime or the detection of offences committed. It has come to be the common practice of policemen employed in watching the operations of Home Rule members to treat the mere appearance of such a member in any public place to be a necessary call for a riot or affray or other disturbance of public tranquillity, even though not one single actual instance of such happening be shown to have occurred anywhere in this Presidency since the Home Rule League came into existence and did its work.

Your memorialist desires to assure Your Excellency as the representative of H. M. the King-Emperor that there are no more loyal subjects of His Majesty than your memorialist and his fellow-workers in the Home Rule League, that it is his sense of loyalty to His Majesty and his regard for His Majesty's good name, and also his desire to acquiesce in Your Excellency's expressed wish for co-operation, which makes him thus draw attention to actions tending to injustice and repression which weakens the natural sense of devotion and loyalty in the hearts of His Majesty's Indian Subjects. In conclusion, your memorialist respectfully prays that your Excellency will be pleased to direct that the decision of the Government of India regarding the release of Mrs. Besant and others be immediately carried out and that instructions regarding the action of the Executive authorities in the matter of Home Rule be issued so as to allow of their interference in the interest of order and good government and not by way of crusade against the movement, the legality and constitutionality of which cannot be gainsaid by any reasonable, sober and loyal citizen of the Empire only when necessary.

For which acts of justice your memorialist will ever pray.

HOME RULE TRAINING SCHEME.

[*In response to an invitation by Mr. G. Hari Sarvothama Rao, M.A., to give his blessings to the Home Rule Training Scheme inaugurated on the morning of 18th September, 1917, Sir S. Subramania Iyer spoke as follows*:—]

*I did not preside over a meeting before when I feel such infinite gratification as on this occasion. For we are on the eve of realising the fruit of our efforts made till now, for I can assure you that in all probability the interned will arrive here to-morrow. (Here he asked Mr. Hari Sarvothama Rao to read the copy of a telegram received from Mrs. Besant to the effect that she had received the orders of release the previous night at 11 o'clock and the news was received with an outburst of enthusiastic cheers.) I can well understand the enthusiasm which is making the audience so violent, but I remind you that among the advice which we have received from her is that we should take any matter with absolute calmness and moderation. There should be no crowing on our part over our success, no torturing address to our opponents. Such kind of crowing should be left to the *Madras Mail* and workers of that sort.

* As corrected in the 1st person by a *Publicist* from a Report in the 3rd person.

Our own attitude should be one of calmness at the result of the success that the popular movement has attained under conditions of the greatest difficulty—a movement which is headed by one of the greatest and wisest of human beings, Mrs. Besant. On the other side, the whole might of the Anglo-Indiandom from the Governor-General down to the lowest chaprasi is arrayed upon us while we have only the righteousness of our cause. But all of us should remember that we are but instruments in the hands of a Mighty Power, and that strength and moderation within constitutional limits will win the day. This should be borne in mind especially by youngmen in whose hands the future of the Motherland lies. I ask you to discharge your duties manfully between calmness and wisdom which are the characteristics of a righteous cause. Calmness and moderation should be the watch-words and strength of our cause. When our friends arrive enthusiasm must be shown, many arrangements have to be made and the procession formed, in fact their arrival would be grander than any Roman Emperor, equal to that which His Majesty had when he visited India. But we must all behave in the most orderly manner, and show that we were capable of the utmost subordination where the interests of the country are concerned. On the question at issue my philosophy is one which no European or modern philosophy recognises. It is

the result of the study of 30 years and it is this,—that nothing happens in this well-ordered universe, in this great cosmos, which ought not to occur at the very moment. What I mean is that "there is Supreme Wisdom and power which organises things as to how they should go but which to our limited vision seems to be wrong." Our present condition must be looked upon in that light. The meeting of the East and West is not an accident but a thing ordered by the Supreme Wisdom. The recognition of it is fundamentally necessary for our future progress. Those who think that the British supremacy should be undermined or that no white man should be found in this country are utterly mistaken. The Anglo-Indian newspapers may say that I am always a time-server, and all the time I am trying to undermine the British supremacy. Such statements are false. In one paragraph of my memorial to the Viceroy published in *New India* yesterday, I pointed out that the Home Rulers are the most loyal people. That is absolutely true—as true as I can be true to myself. As Home Rulers, we are more loyal than those who are not Home Rulers, who, for most selfish reasons, are taking shelter under Colonial Self-Government, etc. Home Rule is, in fact, what is wanted, and we can attain it gradually. There are therefore no more loyal people to His Majesty or His Majesty's Government than Home Rulers, but the only people

to whom we are disloyal, are the bureaucrats. The best proof I can give of my assurance of our loyalty to the British would be found in my letter of the other day on Home Rule and Federated States. Federated States must exist side by side for the future progress of India. Next to the maintenance of British connection is the cultivation of the English tongue along with the vernaculars. If we want British connection, we cannot have it without acquaintance with the British language. English education has brought us ideas. But English as studied now will be fatal and destructive of all our hopes. What is wanted is that the vernacular should be given no inferior place, for it alone will enable us to enlighten the masses in the modern knowledge and activities of life. That, of course, carries with it that, in order to become a Home Rule country, India should consist of provinces made on language basis alone, and I acknowledge my admiration under that head is due to our Andhra friends. It is they who have started the agitation with enthusiasm worthy of all praise. The people who want to establish a *lingua franca* of Urdu, however they may succeed, will find the mistake later. There must be an Andhra province, a Tamil province and a province for all such as are speaking one language.

After all, what was the goal of human progress? It was the securing of happiness to the masses and to every member of the society, and that can never

be accomplished unless the management is in the hands of the people. Government of the people for the people and by the people—that is the ideal. No doubt the attainment of that ideal is not the work of a day. We have so far succeeded in popular agitation, but that is nothing. We have still great work and lot of difficulties. The scheme explained by Mr. Hari Sarvothama Rao will enable the party of workers for the Motherland to grow larger than now. We have to bring home to every man and woman some knowledge of good government and that can be done when education was made compulsory and carried to the poor. I hope you will contribute your quota to the number of workers and thus help the progress of the Motherland.

Apart from the system of political training, there is going to be temporary arrangements with a view to meet the exigencies of Mr. Montagu's arrival. We want a number of volunteers to go into the country to explain the scheme of the Congress League, and take signatures from the people subscribing to it in the papers we will furnish to the Volunteers. The Volunteers have to explain their contents to the villagers in a manner understandable by them, for we do not want those men to sign without a knowledge of the contents or understanding the scheme or with imperfect knowledge. We have reliable information that the Government

of India have, in a communication to the Secretary of State, stated that there is a desire for Home Rule in the Maharashtra and the Central Provinces and the Government tried to explain it away by saying that it was due to the influence of Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak is a great man and his influence is great. So far it is true; but that there is no desire for Home Rule in other parts is totally inaccurate. We must disprove the false representation and show that there is no man even in the benighted province of Madras who does not want Home Rule. The desire for Home Rule in this country is general. I began the agitation after the confinement of Mrs. Besant, but the total number of letters I have received since from people who know only vernacular came up to a thousand, and some of the expressions used therein shame even the educated. I appeal to all men who can afford to work for the Motherland to come forward to that work. But one thing you should remember, you will meet with difficulties. Every Home Ruler is shadowed by a constable. The policemen look upon every Home Ruler as one who is ready to commit riot, and to belong to Home Rule League is to invite to fight. But outside Home Rulers we all know what took place yesterday and of the rowdyisms of those who comprised the Nairites as they are called. I mention it only to show what the forces are amidst which they have to work. When

people who are preparing for sacrifices in the services of the Motherland on absolute constitutional lines are forthcoming the degree of the success which can be ours cannot be imagined.

I offer on behalf of all India, if I can do so, our thanks to the Viceroy and the Government of India for the wisdom, that prompted and induced them to set the interned at liberty. Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia are not only coming out, but they are bringing out* Messrs. Mahamad Ali and Shaukat Ali, all of whom agitated for political rights. The amnesty shows that political workers have no stigma attaching to criminals.

* They were not released and are not as yet.

TRIUMPH OF CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION.

I

[*A public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held in the Gokhale Hall* (18-9-'17) *to convey their thankfulness to the Government in this country and in England for having unconditionally cancelled the order of internment of Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia. The Hall was full long before the time of the meeting and a large portrait of Mrs. Besant was placed on the dais in front and garlanded amidst deafening cheers. Miniature copies of the likeness of the liberated leader were freely distributed. Sir S. Subramania Iyer occupied the chair and said in the course of his speech*:—]

MRS. BESANT'S RELEASE.

*There is no other instance within the memory of the living generation when concerted action on absolutely constitutional lines and conducted with extreme moderation instead of violence, as some people thought, has wrought wonderful results. At the time we began our work in real earnest, the atmosphere looked as gloomy as it possibly could.

*As corrected in the first person by a *Publicist*, from a summary Report in the third person.

We felt that we were in the midst of repression, the limits of which we were unable to gauge and yet within the short period of three months the whole thing in fact ended. What is the reason? It is absolute justice of the British Nation. In spite of absolutely unfounded threats, which, even the night before, appeared in the *Madras Mail*, the Secretary of State and the Governor-General, who at first played a different roll, saw the wisdom of the policy now adopted. But we, as persons who have, as it were, come out successful in the great struggle between autocracy on the one hand and popular movement on the other headed by the heroic soul whose portrait I have in my hands—what are we to do? Of course the wish of Mrs. Besant herself is that we ought to be careful in avoiding two things —showing any taunts and behaving with some moderation towards the vanquished enemy. I have already spoken this morning, and have not much to add now. I call upon Mr. Kesava Pillai to move the first resolution. Mr. Kesava Pillai's name has put in my mind the supposed conflict between the Brahmanas and the non-Brahmanas, and his presence here shows that there is absolutely no such conflict or difference and there is as much union between them as between Hindus and Muslims, which Mrs. Besant has brought about. Now we are a united Nation. If everyone stands firm and with determination, we will see the success of our

constitutional struggle. There are many difficulties to face before we can obtain Home Rule for a continent like India, but it is great sacrifice on the part of the people that would lead to the goal.

I disclaim all praise given to me by the various speakers, and say that, if any credit is attached to me, it is Mrs. Besant's whose humble follower I am. I became acquainted with her for the first time when I heard her speech at Rajahmundry, when it came to my mind that a great person had come to our land. From that time forth, I have become an instrument in her hands, my faith in her has been unshaken and it has been realised day after day until she is looked upon as the uncrowned Queen of India. Some people object to her leadership, because her skin is white. What right have they to complain when the colour of their own skin is taken objection to and equal treatment on that score is denied? There are others who say that she makes an admirable spiritual teacher but has no right to enter into the arena of politics. I would not say more than that that the wisdom of her leadership in politics is now being demonstrated. Before concluding, I ask forgiveness at the hands of all who have felt offended by what I might have said in my speeches and writings during those three months, and disclaim any intention of giving offence to any.

I call for three cheers to the Secretary of State and another for Lord Chelmsford.

TRIUMPH OF CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION.

II

[*The members of the Home Rule League gave a reception on the 23rd September '17, to the released patriots Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia in their premises at Broadway. Sir S. Subramania Iyer in welcoming Mrs. Besant, said* :—]

GREETINGS TO MRS BESANT.

HONOURED PRESIDENT, FOUNDER OF THE LEAGUE,—We, members of the League one and all present here, beg to offer you our joyful greetings on your return in our midst after trials and sufferings so great. Though the period of your absence has been comparatively short, I may, without exaggeration, say our feelings of sorrow were as acute as those of the citizens of Ayodhya as described by the author of our immortal epic, the silver tongued Valmiki, when their beloved Ramachandra had to go on exile in obedience to the cruel command of the King, His own father. Now that you are with us our joyous welcome to you is even greater than theirs when their beloved came back, unlike you, years and years

afterwards. Now my ever troublesome and inquisitive mind asks who was the wretched Kaikeyi that was the author of the plot in the present case and had it executed through the gentle hands of our Lord Pentland with his heart full of contrition and that extreme reluctance to be expected of this kindly nature. I call upon that admitted co-conspiration whose complicity in the crime has so unhinged his mind as to make it possible for him to do nothing else than sit on the sea-side, bemoan the ill-success that has overtaken him and compose hymns of hate day by day and hour by hour—I call upon this conspiration to turn an approver and tell the unsavoury tale without reserve and by such confession secure absolution to his vexed soul that stands so sorely in need of it. Thereafter he can move among his fellowmen as one restored to the status of an unconvicted subject of the realm by reason of the pardon which his turning King's evidence carries with it under the law of the land. Apologising for this soliloquy which was irresistable in the circumstances I resume my speech and say that apart from the feeling of relief experienced by us in general owing to your return, it is impossible for me not to own the satisfaction arising in my mind that the responsibility of guiding our great Movement will once more directly rest on those shoulders of yours that alone can bear such a heavy burden and that once more I can resume that silence which

befits me. Your presence in our midst to-day is the strongest proof that the confidence of those who are working on absolutely constitutional lines in the justice and good will of our Rulers and the British Democracy has not been misplaced. Furthermore in our present triumph over autocracy we recognise the power of the spiritual force which has ever been at the back of all you have attempted to do for the Motherland since you set your foot on its soil about quarter of a century ago ; although you were immuned within the four corners of an out of the way place it was your soul force that inspired us and gave us all the power and strength which we were able to put forth in the first week of June last, a period that will ever be memorable in history of how India began really to work out its freedom through you. All credit therefore with reference to this triumph of constitutional agitation belongs to you and your devoted comrades and none else. It is but right to add that success likewise rebounds to the fame of that British Spirit of Justice, Freedom and Magnanimity which will not tolerate repression and restraint even in the remote corners of the Empire and that at a time when all the will, energy, attention and resources of the nation were concentrated upon bringing to a successful issue the terrible struggle it is carrying on in the cause of civilization. I should not fail to express our gratefulness to His Majesty's Government, to the Secretary of State,

to H. E. the Viceroy and to Lord Pentland, which is unbounded particularly for the reason that the ignominious suggestion to impose unworthy conditions upon you was nobly brushed aside. And in spite of the outpourings of Anglo-Indian ill-will as to our many alleged innate failings I venture to say that to return evil for good has never been and will never be among our vices. For we know as our great law giver has pointed out there is cure for everything but ingratitude whilst, therefore unflinchingly pressing our claim for our birthright to be a federated part of the Empire, we shall never stay even an inch from the straight path of our duty and fidelity to our King and Sovereign, even though the provocation to do so is a hundred times greater than that which the attitude of the Anglo-Indian Community is daily furnishing.

In conclusion, we pray to God that He may soon restore you to your former health and grant you full strength and vigour for the completion of your self-imposed mighty task.

THE SPIRIT OF BROTHERHOOD.

[*Mr. D. V. Gundappa, the young and patriotic Editor of the* Karnataka, *of Bangalore, has issued, in honour of the 76th Birthday (1st October 1917) of Dr. Sir S. Subramania Iyer, a pamphlet recording an interview he had with him. Instead of giving that portion of the conversation, the whole subject-matter is reproduced below as it conveys all the ideas in their proper setting* :—]

INDIAN NATIONALISM.

Grow old along with me;
"The *best*" is yet to be:

—such seems to be the purposeful benediction which the sea is singing into the serene and hallowed halls of the Beach House, Mylapore, wherein dwells the senior most of the high-priests of Indian Nationalism, holding constant communion with the emblem of the Infinite. If it be conceded,—as it must be, —that of all the forces which shape human events, by far the most potent is the power of ideas, it must necessarily follow that those who introduce a new idea into our life or revive an old and forgotten ideal in a new and more efficacious form, are veritable *avatars*. Thus viewed, Ram Mohan and Ranade, Dadabhai and Gokhale, Tilak and Gandhi, Viveka-

nanda and Mrs. Besant, all these are the different expressions of one great impulse,—the harbingers of one divine ideal. To import an aggressive and insistent method into the apostleship of that ideal has been the peculiar service of Mrs. Besant; and to hold up the torch which she set blazing and to feed it with the incense of his own spiritual devotion and patriotic ardour, for the enlightenment and adoration of Young India, seems to be that "*best*" for which Dr. Sir S. Subramania Iyer is being preserved in bodily health and mental vigour. Mrs. Besant and we have long been heralding the advent of a new World-Teacher, and for long, non-Theosophists have sceptically laughed at it. But now, there is a meaning which Theosophists and non-Theosophists alike are grateful to recognize in their heraldry:—a New India is about to rise; and she rises to occupy a conspicuous position among the educative forces of humanity. The image of this free, self-dependent prosperous and powerful New India,—an India that has fully developed herself and can assist in the moral and spiritual development of other nations—is now safely installed in the Beach House, to thrive amid the vivifying air and the energising roar of the ocean. There, verily, is the shrine at which Young India has to offer its worship; and there I had the satisfaction of laying my homage on Sunday last (*2nd September* 1917.)

It is perhaps a duty I owe to the non-Theosophist readers that I should admit, at the very outset, the fact of my being one of them. What I write cannot be ascribed to the possibly blind, uncritical bias of a religious disciple. If Theosophy has enabled Sir Subramania Iyer to be the leader of the nation and Mrs. Besant to be the benefactor of civilization at a critical juncture in the world's history, no stonger proof need be adduced as to the excellence of its ethical and spiritual contents. As for us, if we feel that we could serve the cause of truth better by learning our lessons outside, how can that be a reason for withholding the due tribute of admiration from those who have risen to moral eminence under the care of the Theosophic church? While I can have not a syllable to say with reference to the *Mahatmas* of the Theosophical pantheon, I am among those who recognize many *mahatmic* qualities in the two most eminent leaders of Theosophy—Mrs. Besant and Sir Subramania Iyer.

It was about 11-30 in the morning when I sent in my card; and immediately I was invited to go up. As I was about to ascend the steps, I learnt that the venerable man had just finished reading the day's papers and that, if I had not intruded, he would perhaps have sought a little rest. I no doubt blamed my haste in choosing the time for the visit; but as I had been called in, I determined

to take myself away as speedily as I could obtain permission. As I was stepping into the spacious and not gaudily furnished room, Sir Subramania Iyer rose from the chair and welcomed me with enthusiastic expressions of kindness. I made my obeisance and garlanded him and offered him a pair of lime-fruits in the usual Mysore fashion.

THE INTERVIEW.

He accepted them, protesting—

"All this is unnecessary, my young friend, all this is unnecessary."

"I murmured:—It may be so from your standpoint, Sir, but not so from the standpoint of a youngster."

Sir S.—"Oh, all this reminds me that the holy influence of our great Rishis is still happily prevailing. I have much desired to meet you."

Myself:—"That only bespeaks your generosity, Sir, not my worth. To me this is a place of pilgrimage."

After some more talk of a personal character, Sir Subramania Iyer referred to the Karnataka Pamphlet on "The Problems of Indian Native States" and remarked:

I was thinking that the author of the letters is a man of advanced years. For I find therein the result of much observation and experience. I no doubt see the fire of youth in the style. How are your criticisms received in your own State?

I replied :—You are doubtless aware, Sir, that H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore is a progressive and constitutional Ruler and his present minister is a man of strong popular sympathies. Under their wise and beneficient rule, the people are imbibing the democratic spirit and are learning the value of popular freedom and popular self-government.

Sir S.—I have always thought so. Your Maharaja has furnished many examples for emulation to his brother Princes and to the British Government. In fact, I said so when unveiling the portrait of His Highness at the Y. M. I. A. For Instance, you have a legislative enactment for the proper control of religious institutions such as *Mutts*.

I interposed :—But that is only on paper. Our *Mutts* are still unchecked in their career of idle expensiveness.

Sir S.—Never mind that. It cannot be so for long. You have at least recognized the evil and have given theoretical sanction to the remedy. In industrial and other matters also your State is venturing much. Your Maharaja has given ample proofs of his desire to make the people responsible for the management of their affairs. The spirit in which his Government is working is the proper spirit. It must be continued.

I interrupted :—But the one great evil in every Native State is the absence of continuity of policy. The whole spirit of the administration *may* change when a Dewan changes.

Sir S.—But such fears seem out of place in Mysore. For thirty-five years you have had a progressive Government; and your State has given to India three of her most successful statesmen. Rangacharlu was undoubtedly the greatest of all, and he was far in advance of his contemporaries. He laid the foundations of popular government in India, and there are few to be compared to him. Sir Seshadri Iyer was also a very able and far-seeing administrator in his own way; and your present Dewan is enthusiastically continuing the great work begun by Rangacharlu. When the people are once roused, it will not be easy to keep them back. It will not be possible for any Dewan to undo the good work that Sir Visvesvaraya is doing.

I submitted :—Quite so. Moreover, it is our good fortune to be ruled by a Maharaja who is not a figure-head and whose interest in the administration is as keen and active as any patriot's can be.

Sir S.—There can be no doubt about it. But the people must be active, too. What is the use of the patriotic efforts of the administration if the people are not responsive and are lost in lethargy?

I said :—Thanks to the new spirit in India, the outlook of the people in the States is also changing, and they too are being moved by the new ideal of Home Rule or responsible self-government. Your movement here is serving to uplift political life in the States also.

Sir S.—That is only natural. Your progress must influence ours and our progress must react upon yours. The Governments are different ; but the life of all India is one and the same.

I added :—That is why such active sympathy is shown in the States for the Home Rule movement. As political communities, they are different ; but their ideal is one and identical with that of British India.

Sir S.—But I am emphatically against *our* propaganda being carried on in Feudatory India. It is contrary to the rulers of our Home Rule League to organize branches thereof in Native States.

I added :—That is as it should be. Your League exists to achieve a definite object for a specific area : it is to substitute national democracy for the bureaucracy authorized by the British ; and it would not be right to carry on the fight from non-British territory.

Sir S.—By opening branches of our League in Native States, we may be embarrassing their

rulers and giving a handle to their Residents to be used against ourselves. No; we will not run that risk. No doubt the States require to be awakened and set on the path of democracy; but we cannot undertake that task directly. The States must work out their own salvation, goaded on by our struggle.

I interrupted:—But you must sympathise and help. For, spiritually and ethically, we are all of one household and are partners in one enterprise.

Sir. S.—That we shall of course do. Are we not being helped by others? Without the active sympathy and co-operation of those who are more advanced, our progress is bound to be slow and difficult. But what I say is that while we are and must be ready to sympathise and help the Native States, we cannot now fight on their behalf. We are struggling for our own political emancipation on our own territory; and we are thankful for your sympathy and support. We *shall gratefully* welcome you—subjects of Native States—as *members* into our League here; but we *cannot formally* establish branches of our League in your States. Similarly if you have any organization of your own, we may become members and our League will certainly sympathize with yours. But our League cannot directly engage itself at present in the task of your emancipation also.

I interposed :—This differentiation is mostly technical and it is necessitated by the peculiar legal and political circumstances of the matter. It is also, to a large extent, a question of expediency and practical convenience. Otherwise, we are all of one brotherhood.

Sir S.—Yes,—that is the most important fact. Without the realization of that great idea of brotherhood, there can be no true democracy, no individual liberty, no international peace. Our struggle for Home Rule draws its inspiration from the principle of brotherhood ; and it is the duty of every one of us to practise and realize that principle in life, so that our Home Rule may be a beneficent thing and so that it may be the more speedily attained.

I supplemented :—It is the spirit of brotherhood that induced Byron to espouse the cause of Greece, Gladstone to take up the cause of Italy and Mrs. Besant to fight for India.

Sir S.—You are perfectly right. It is that spirit that should actuate us and carry us forward. Individual liberty and national independence would be valueless if they are not to be the means for brotherly service in the collective life of countries and of nations so as to make it harmonious and continuously progressive.

Then, alluding to the *Karnataka's* comments on the Lawrence-Pollen scheme of creating more Native States in India, the sage of the Beach

House expressed his entire approval and laid particular stress on the idea therein expressed that the ancient Aryan polity was not an unqualified autocracy, but a constitutional monarchy "as popular as it in those times could possibly be." In conclusion, he agreed that the problems offered by our Native States are of great all-India importance and that their satisfactory solution is essential to the attainment of India's national unification and the fulfilment of her great mission in the world. As he was uttering these pregnant words, there was such fervour in his tone and such radiance in his eyes as could at once put any one in mind of the truth of the lines:

The tidal wave of deeper souls
Into our inmost being rolls
And lifts us unawares
Out of all meaner cares.

But it would have been a crime if I had forgotten that the frame which enshrines the fiery soul with which I was privileged to hold converse, needed some rest in order to be fit for fresh and more important duties. So I got up to take leave. There was another feast of complimentary terms provided by the sage; and before the final shake of hands, he said:—

"Convey my congratulations and expressions of regard to Sir Visvesvaraya. His efforts at

constitutional and economic reform have my hearty praise and he is really serving the national cause. To you I give my very best wishes and may God enable you always to be among our wise patriots."

I repeated my profound and reverential *namaskar* and left the room, my heart throbbing with feeling too deep for words.

If the reader will accuse me of being vainglorious in having thus recorded the kindnesses lavished upon me, I shall not pause to argue with him on the point. Let me simply state that I have reported the interview, not in obliviousness of my own deficiency and unworthiness, but in order to show the magnanimity of a great mind,—to show how "the truly brave are soft of heart and eyes." And I would be wanting in common honesty if I omitted to say that I have derived great comfort and encouragement from what the great man was pleased to say. It is the prerogative of the great to stimulate and to encourage, and they will not appraise the worth of others with the mathematical accuracy with which a fastidious and close-fisted customer calculates the prices of his purchases in the bazaar.

I had heard it said that Sir S. Subramania Iyer is too weak and decrepit to think and act for himself and that what goes about in his honoured name is really the handiwork of others. A grosser lie

never profaned the tongue of man. One has only to spend a couple of minutes in his presence to know what mental alertness, what intellectual strength, what keenness of memory, what fluency of expression and what agility of limb are still to be found in this remarkable man, in whom are combined the calm spiritual glow of the Vedic seer, the all-piercing will-power of the mediæval ascetic, and the active energy of the modern social servant. Simple as a child, benignant as a Sadhu and undaunted as a warrior, here is a man who, in his 75th year, seems capable of undertaking and fulfilling with distinction any important office connected with the leadership of the nation. As I sat observing the movements of that age-beaten and toil-worn, yet wiry and well-maintained form,—that benignant face of delicately carved features which once must have been the seat of stately beauty, those tremulous hands and fingers which gave force to the gentle and unhesitating flow of his speech, those beaming eyes of which one might say

Therethrough I saw his fierce eternal soul
Gaze from beneath that argent aureole,

—it seemed to me that this septuagenarian prodigy could take charge of a daily newspaper and fill its editorial columns with wise and eloquent writing in the morning reserving the afternoon for a learned discussion and the evening for a public discourse. Such unfading puissance is the fruit of earnestness,

and Sir Subramaniam is nothing if not earnestness incarnate.

On Monday morning before it was eight, I met him again in a place rendered sacred by the patriotic thoughts and deliberations that vibrate in its atmosphere. He was kindly and cordial as ever, and he was there to arrange for some business calculated to relieve the Motherland of the shades of repression.* His one message to those who cared to learn from his face appeared to be:

"Ay, think upon the cause,
Forget it not:—when you lie down to rest,
Let it be black among your dreams; and when
The morn returns, so let it stand between
The sun and you, as an ill-omen'd cloud
Upon a summer day of festival:
So will it stand to me."

In a high and prominent position in his room shine the portraits of their Majesties the Emperor and the Empress. Is this the man that would participate in any enterprise that is not beneficial

* It is satisfactory to note that Sir S. Subramania Iyer's efforts in this directions have now been crowned with success. In order to clear the political atmosphere of the thunderclouds of passion and prejudice so that a proper understanding of the situation may be possible, Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State, and H. E. Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy, have cancelled the orders that had restricted the freedom of political workers. Mrs. Annie Besant has resumed her humanitarian work, and has started on a pilgrimage bearing the torch of liberty to illumine all the nooks and corners of India.

to the Empire? One of the most loyal and loving of men, there is nothing for him to hate except the principle of hatred itself; and he would have been wanting in loyalty as well as in patriotism if he did not act and feel with those,

".....who are called to the high destinies
Which purify corrupted commonwealths;
We must forget all feelings save the *one*
We must resign all passions save our purpose
We must behold no object save our country."

With the cradle of the Eternal enrapturing his eye, with the music of the Infinite ravishing his ears, with the vision of the India-to-be glowing in his bosom, with the stainless snow of seventy-five fine winters adorning his brow—this high-priest of national liberty symbolizes in himself that ideal of spiritualized worldliness which is the crown of all Vedantic culture and discipline. His very sight is an inspiration and his very presence a blessing. God preserve him; India cherish him.

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Though fetes and parties, by way of expressing the universal satisfaction and joy felt at the release of Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, continue to be the order of the day, yet it is clear from what has come to my notice that their release is viewed in some quarters not as the inauguration of a new policy, but as an isolated instance brought about by Special circumstances. The state of disquiet in the public mind occasioned by the antecedent policy of internments cannot be said to have been materially affected by this solitary instance of the release of Mrs. Besant and her two co-workers. The fact that the orders of the Bombay Government and that of the C. P. Commissioner prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering their respective provinces have been recalled while orders of internment, exclusion and other restrictions passed on others under the Defence of India Act by the Bengal, Madras and other Provincial authorities stand unrevoked, tends only to intensify the impression that Mrs. Besant's case has been treated as exceptional for reasons best known to them. The continuance of such an impression cannot, of course, lead to that calm atmosphere which His Excellency the Viceroy has naturally so much at heart, pending the visit of the Secretary of State. It is, therefore, the

duty of everyone desirous of securing the calm needed to make it clear that the question of internments as a matter of general policy even during the continuance of the war is viewed with the same alarm and distrust as before. And the disclosures which come to be made from time to time with reference to the detenues particularly in Bengal tend but to aggravate public feeling on the subject. In these circumstances there is no alternative left but to keep the question before the minds of the authorities doubtless in a manner that will, by no means, justify the suggestion of any intention to place obstacles in the way of the Government carrying on the administration smoothly. This can be best done by us by arranging to secure and place before the public and the Government of India reliable evidence regarding the large body of detenues in Bengal and elsewhere so far as it is possible for us to obtain the same. The collection of this evidence is no doubt beset with much difficulty. Nevertheless if it is undertaken with tact and patience by trustworthy men, their work, it is certain, must lead to good. It is the duty of the public workers in all the provinces to come to the help of the families to which hundreds still interned or otherwise under restraint in the different parts of the country belong. It is also necessary to organise a plan for the collection of facts which would warrant representations being made to His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to obtain

justice in all cases where the future detention of the interned or the continuance of the restrictions in other cases could be shown to be unnecessary and unwarranted and likewise for provision being made to safeguard the interests of these against whom action may be taken under the provisions of the India Defence Act dealing with the internments etc. In view to all this I would suggest that a body of enquirers should be formed who will proceed to ascertain from the members of the families of the interned persons facts and circumstances so far as it is in their power to furnish, regarding the member or members interned. In cases where the interned are not confined in jails, the enquiring individuals should interview the interned parties and obtain information as to whether they are aware of the charges on which they have been interned and whether any and if so what opportunities of exculpating themselves have been afforded to them, as to the provision of their maintenance and all other special circumstances bearing on their condition since their restraint commenced. The enquiring party should also find out cases of suicide, if any, other than these admitted and endeavour to bring to light the abuses that prevail in the carrying out of the policy in question. There are some friends within my own knowledge who are ready to undertake this work if an organised effort is made for the purpose. I do not consider it necessary to enter

into further details as I write this letter with a view to elicit and provoke discussion and future action if such be considered practicable and wise.

It remains to add that though a petition had been presented on behalf of Mrs. Annie Besant to His Majesty the King raising questions as to the validity and constitutionality of the provisions of the India Defence Act and the rules thereunder further steps in her case became unnecessary owing to the recent cancellation of the orders in it. On the 14th of August last Sir Almeric Fitzrey. Clerk of the Privy Council, wrote to Mr. D. Graham Pole—Mrs. Besant's Solicitor—with reference to her petition a letter which is important. It runs as follows :—

The Clerk of the Council,
Privy Council Office,
London S. W..

14th August, 1917.

SIR,—Referring to the petition of Mrs. Annie Besant and yourself to the King in Council praying that His Majesty would be pleased to refer the said petition to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in accordance with the terms of S. 4 of the Judicial Committee Act, 1833, I am directed by the Lords of the Council to state that having given the matter their most careful consideration their Lordships are unable to advise His Majesty to comply with the prayer of the petition.

I am, at the same time, to point out that there are no sufficient reasons for believing that the High Courts of India have not ample jurisdiction to determine the validity of Acts of Indian Legislature, and that if the petitioner failed to obtain redress in the High Court of Madras, it would be open to her to apply in the usual way for special leave to appeal to the King-in-Council.

I am, Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,
(Sd). Alemeric Fitzrey.

It will thus be seen that the question of the constitutionality of the India Defence Act which was intended to be raised before the Privy Council can now be raised before the High Courts in this country. It would be advisable, therefore, to apply, say, to the Calcutta High Court on behalf of some of the detenues with a view to raise the question so ably and exhaustively argued out in the petition presented to His Majesty as stated above and which was drawn up by certain eminent counsels of Sir John Simon and others, and if the question is decided against the applicants, to carry the cases in appeal to the final tribunal in England. Such discussion of the matter before the Courts of Justice and temperate agitation in the press must make it evident to the Government of India that the subject of internments cannot be dropped by the authorities, if the public dissatisfaction with regard to the subject which is so strong is to be allayed. I have purposely refrained from adverting to the cases of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali on which the attention of All-India has anxiously converged. They stand in a position apart and raise exceptional questions requiring separate treatment.—*New India* 2nd October, 1917.

THE INTERNED MOSLEM LEADERS

MAHOMED ALI AND SHAUKAT ALI

It is with unmixed satisfaction that I find that in the Meeting held on the 8th instant* at the Victoria Hall, under the auspices of the Madras branch of the Moslem League, it was resolved to arrange for a deputation to the Viceroy, with reference to the question of the release of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. It is to be hoped that no time will be lost in this deputation waiting on His Excellency in pursuance of the resolution. Though the resolution speaks of a deputation of Madras Moslem representatives, yet it seems to me that Moslem representatives from other Provinces also, as well as representatives of the Hindu and other communities from all the Provinces, should join and form part of the deputation. It is hardly necessary to point out that if on this occasion the Hindu and other communities do not heartily and actively co-operate in this important matter, they would be seriously wanting in their duty to their Moslem brethren. In the course of the discussion on this subject at the Conference held on the 6th instant at Allahabad, it was stated that the release of the two leaders in question was necessary to

* October, 1917.

allay the discontent and excitement of 70 odd millions of Moslems. It would be more correct to say that the discontent is not confined to that community alone, but extends also to all the other communities in the country who have come to look upon the question at issue as affecting not merely the two particular individuals concerned, but as gravely affecting the public at large. I would humbly suggest that the Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee and those of the All-India Moslem League should put themselves in communication with each other and arrange for an early joint deputation of Moslems, Hindus, Parsis and Indian Christians to wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy. I feel sure that if a really good deputation gets the opportunity of placing the matter in all its aspects before His Excellency, there is every probability of a conclusion being reached which would be satisfactory to both sides. The representation by the deputation may be *in camera*, so as to allow of the subject being discussed without reserve and it is hardly necessary to say that the deputation will and must submit to His Excellency's decision, if they are unable to satisfy His Excellency that the Ali brothers have not really espoused the cause of any power at War with His Majesty and the Allies.

It was very unfortunate that the attempt to obtain assurances of fidelity and constitutional behaviour

from the interned was sought to be accomplished through the channel of a department the least fitted for such a delicate task. What transpired at the meeting between the C. I. D. Officer and the brothers at Chindwara really savoured of the presentation to a prisoner in a lock-up of a confession drawn up by a policeman at his own will and choice, to be subscribed to without the least demur by the accused person and absolutely without reference to the facts within his own knowledge and without reference to all the circumstances explanatory of the case. It was equally a pity that the interned persons had not the time and advice so necessary to enable them to gauge the whole situation and make the right response to the gracious determination of His Excellency to restore them to their liberty. According to the well-known principles, daily enforced by Courts as against those who obtain engagements and compacts from parties kept by them in duress, the brothers should, in common justice to them, have been allowed to avail themselves of competent outside independent advice which was certainly available in their case, before they were called upon to bind themselves by promises bearing upon their liberty. Had they been able to avail themselves of such an opportunity, it is certain that no question of what the true contents of a Moslem's allegiance to his faith and creed are would have cropped up and given rise to the present *impasse*. Though that question

of allegiance may afford ample scope for a Doctor of Moslem Law or a casuist to speculate upon, yet what puzzles Moslems in India to-day is how any one with the least pretension to practical good sense can rightly maintain that there is a conflict between their fealty to their faith and creed on the one hand, and their allegiance to their *de jure* and *de facto* Sovereign, His Majesty the King-Emperor on the other. That in common with every Moslem the brothers maintain that no such conflict exists, has been made absolutely clear by the Hon. Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad in the statement made by him to the interviewer the other day.

Having regard to such a state of things, surely His Excellency the Viceroy may well be expected to be pleased to permit the matter to be re-opened before him by the deputation, as I have suggested. And it is impossible to suppose that if the brothers are utterly innocent of the charge of sympathy to, and concert with, the enemy, as they are firmly believed by the public to be, the deputation will fail to satisfy His Excellency of the truth of the matter at the meeting where they will be able to place the whole evidence available on the point and enable His Excellency to judge of the case freely and impartially. In all these circumstances, I would only repeat that no delay should take place in taking the question of a suitable deputation in hand. There is the most urgent reason for such a step, if it is

remembered that Mahomed Ali has been elected as President for the meeting of the All-India Moslem League which should take place simultaneously with the Congress Session at Calcutta. No doubt, if, in spite of the deputation, Mahomed Ali's internment continues and such continuance has to be acquiesced in, having regard to the special circumstances of the case, the League will have to make its own arrangements for filling the office of the President. But if the decision of His Excellency to continue the internment be found to be unacceptable and the Moslem League will not hold its sittings without Mahomed Ali, what is to become of the Congress Sessions? This raises an extremely difficult question and it is right that it receives due consideration at once. True it will be open to the League to let the Congress Session go on and, I hope, the League will, in its generosity and wisdom, permit such a course. But if it will not, it is incumbent on the Congress to co-operate with the League, so as to bring about an adjustment which will not affect in the least the *entente cordiale* so happily established between the two communities. I refrain from attempting to anticipate what the steps required for such a consummation would be. I would conclude by saying that no sacrifice should be considered too great for the attainment of the end.—*New India.*

MR. MONTAGU'S VISIT.

[*A public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held on 4th November, 1917, in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, to protest against the persistent and mischievous campaign carried on by the reactionary section of the Anglo-Indian Press and the European and Anglo-Indian community in India and England, misrepresenting the attitude and intention of the Secretary of State and the Government of India in releasing Mrs. Besant and in desiring a calm atmosphere in India during the forthcoming mission of Mr. Montagu to discuss the proposals of Indian political reform. The meeting was very largely attended. The following is the full text of the speech of Sir S. Subramania Iyer who presided on the occasion* :—]

A PROTEST AGAINST UNJUST CALUMNY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—When a pronouncement was made simultaneously in India and in England that Home Rule for India was the ideal which the British Government were striving to attain, and when Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues were unconditionally released, I, for one, presumed that the work of strenuous agitation, which was carried on by us since the memorable 16th of June, should take a different form. We were able to

convince the authorities that on the subject of Home Rule united India had but one opinion; what our leaders had maintained for over two years, and had continuously given expression to was not accepted by the authorities, and so they tried to stop by the operations of repressive measures the propaganda of Home Rule which they believed to be the hobby of Mrs. Besant and her followers; but during the three months of internment the Government found that things were not exactly as they had pictured, and that Home Rule was not a hobby of the few, but a demand of the many, which grew in volume and intensity every day after the 16th of June.

Thus, gentlemen, we were able to show the Government the real position, and like a statesman our Viceroy handled the situation in which he was so nobly helped by Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. I need not describe what happened, for it is all familiar to you. A truce was called by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, and we, Indian Nationalists, began co-operating with the Government in producing the calm atmosphere necessary for a healthy discussion of our political problems with the authorities.

It was a very wise and highly statesmanlike step of the British Cabinet to have permitted Mr. Montagu to visit India, and to return to the Cabinet armed with first-hand knowledge about

the conditions of affairs in this country, and help the Cabinet to uphold its cherished traditions and ideals of this war for liberty and justice and rights of nations in reference to India. Let me here put on record our sense of very deep gratitude to Mr. Lloyd George and his Ministry for rising to the occasion and evincing an interest in this country at a critical period in its history. Not only the interests of this country but also the interests of the Empire as a whole demanded such a wise step; for Brittania cannot hold her head high in the council of the nations of the world if she maintains an autocracy in India while she claims to fight for democracy on the battlefields of three continents. That an inefficient bureaucracy rules 315 millions of human beings became evident to the Cabinet when the Mesopotamia Report was published, and like true Britons of liberal instincts, Mr. Lloyd George and others could not shirk the duty of examining the situation in India, which was becoming graver every week. The cables of protests sent to England from India also helped and convinced the responsible Ministers of the Crown that the problems of internal administration in India needed immediate and sympathetic handling.

Under these circumstances Mr. Montagu is coming to India. Now, gentlemen, the Indian Civil Service which had had a lesson out of the internment episode

and the O'Dwyer incident and because of the attitude of the heads of the Government, like the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, have become quiet—shall I add a qualifying clause and say visibly and apparently? But this Service with its own powerfully vested interests cannot but object to the now sympathetic attitude of the Government towards the people of India and their political problems. Thus the I. C. Service is very peculiarly situated and we must not mistake its present silence, as sympathy for our cause. At the first opportune moment it will take up cudgels against us in its usual fashion. And, further, we have not learned of the exact share of the I.C.S. in the campaign of villification in which the European trade interests are at the moment engaged.

And that brings me to the real object of this meeting. Far be it from me, gentlemen, to sound a note of alarm or cry "wolf." I am convinced that this organised attempt of the European Association is, on the whole, a feeble affair, but it is magnified into something huge and colossal because of the part played by Anglo-Indian scribes in their newspapers. If every non-official European in India joined the opposition and ranged themselves against us, the cause they would espouse is so feeble and devoid of justice and truth that success would not be theirs. But in this instance all the Europeans in India are not the devoted followers of Mr. Welby of the *Madras Mail*; there is some sense of proportion

and fairness left in a considerable section of the Europeans. That section may not speak out in the noisy fashion of the European Association clique, but in this city of Madras their views have been expressed in cautious but indicative language by the Anglo-Indian organ, the *Madras Times*. Then we must not forget the very influential and not negligible quantity of sober and thoughtful Europeans for whom the great Bombay paper speaks. The *Times of India* has called itself "the leading paper of Asia" and certainly in this matter of Indian reforms, among all the Anglo-Indian newspapers, it has put forward the wisest and sanest views. I would be failing in my duty if I did not record our sense of appreciation of the conductors of that paper for their fair attitude. I do not want to be misunderstood; I do not always agree with all that the *Times of India* says; but I must confess its articles entitled "Thoughts on Indian Polity" and its attempts to be impartial and fair and its advice to the Europeans in India, cannot but help us Indians to recognise that even in the country there are white people who are not altogether devoid of the sense of justice and liberty.

Thus, gentlemen, the party which abuses Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy and the Indian public needs to be exposed. Because they command money to make noise in London, we are not going to be outwitted. We would have undertaken this

task of exposure earlier, but we wanted to co-operate with the Government of India in producing a calm atmosphere. These noisy and selfish clique of European traders have compelled us to begin the agitation, for, gentlemen, you will admit, that we will not let our case go by default; we are not going to be outdone by the spirit of utter selfishness for their own vested interests and absolute regardlessness of ours. Mr. Montagu is coming here, gentlemen, to right the many wrongs under which we are suffering, and it will mean a substantial encroachment on the rights and privileges of these people—rights and privileges which have impoverished India, which ought never to have been theirs if justice ruled the administration of this country. Our Motherland has been exploited, economically, industrially and commercially, and even educationally and morally. Emasculation all round of the people of India has been produced by the European exploiters—the Military Service claiming its share, the Civil Service theirs, the European traders theirs, and even the Missionaries have not left us alone. These people are human beings and naturally do not like to part with power, influence and source of substantial income. They are monopolists, and, gentlemen, what monopolists in any part of the world will willingly part with his monopoly?

They are trying to hinder the work of Mr. Montagu. They are trying to make his visit use-

less. They want to make him an unwelcome guest in India. Gentlemen, I do not know what Mr. Montagu is going to do for us, here or on his return to London. Our many experiences in the past naturally make us cautious, if not pessimistic; for more than once the very food held to our mouths has been withdrawn, and we were left hungry and gaping. But I will say this of Mr. Montagu. By his speeches and by his behaviour in the past, he has proved that he is in earnest and means business; he wants to do what is fair and just for India; he is not obsessed by the false sense of superiority of the white man over the Indians; he has insight in, and understanding of, the Indian problems and by his visit he will see for himself the new life which is pulsating the country. It is very necessary, therefore, that we should make his path smooth, and his work easy. The European clique wants to play the part of the obstructionist; ours is the duty to make supreme efforts to help the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu and enable them to see the true position.

To counteract the deplorable work of these obstructionists, I have sent the cable to the Premier which all of you must have seen in the Press, and with the co-operation of some friends I have arranged for this meeting. I was seriously contemplating to take steps against the obstructionist clique and was much aided in my decision to do so by a letter from a British friend of India which

I received by last mail. That letter fully convinced me that the duty of the Indian people is to strengthen the hands of Mr. Montagu and our Viceroy, to whom we owe thanks for the cable of explanation which he sent, and which was read by Lord Islington in the House of Lords. May I assure His Excellency that the Indian public views with joy and relief the prospect of His Excellency helping Mr. Montagu in his noble work. We are at a critical stage in the history of India, and before Lord Chelmsford lies the splendid opportunity of doing a service to India, whose grandeur will be sung by future historians, not only of India and Great Britian, but of the Empire as a whole. These words of mine may not reach Mr. Montagu at once, but I promise him on behalf of the Indian public a most hearty welcome to this sacred land and we look upon his mission as engendered by the gods themselves, who, in other parts of the world, on the battlefields and elsewhere are blessing the cause of liberty and democracy. We welcome him with confidence in his ability, with hopes in his liberal principles, with silent prayers that the Most High may guide him to do justice to this poor country, so much misused in the past. From time to time Providence has sent us a true Britisher to help us, and is it too much to hope that Mr. Montagu as the latest harbinger from the land of freedom comes to us to make us free, and thus

help us to cherish with love and gratitude the name and action of the nation which has fought for liberty, not its own, but also other peoples. On him lies the supreme task—will he confirm the faith of Indians in Great Britain, or will he weaken it till it ebbs away into nothingness? We will help him, friends, to uphold the good name of Great Britain, and by the aid of our Viceroy, the representative of our King-Emperor, may he achieve that for which his and his country's name will go down in history as the benefactors of 315 millions of people. (Loud cheers.)

THE MOSLEM INTERNED.

[*A Public Meeting of the citizens of Madras was held in November, 1917, in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, to express disappointment and surprise at the continued internment of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, to ask for the appointment of an impartial committee to investigate and report on the allegations against those interned patriots, to appeal for funds to test the validity of the application of Defence of India Act to political agitation and to express sympathy with the sufferers in the Arrah riots. The following is the text of the speech of Sir S. Subramania Iyer, who, on arrival, was given a hearty reception and voted to the chair amidst thundering cheers :—*]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The times are so important and so difficult that, were it possible, we should have liked not to have met to-day to discuss the subject which is going to be discussed. But our duty to our Muslim brethren makes it incumbent upon us not to hesitate to express our opinion upon the subject. There are several resolutions to be proposed and dealt with by a number of speakers.

A COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY.

It is with deep regret and against our will that we have gathered here this afternoon to express our

protest at the continuation of the internment of our two Muslim brothers—Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. We fervently desire that a course other than this of gathering in a public meeting of protest would have been open to us, more in consonance with the expressed wish of His Excellency the Viceroy to maintain a calm atmosphere when Mr. Montagu is here. The Secretary of State has just arrived and we welcome him with heartfelt joy and gratitude and assure him that we would have greatly preferred not to hold such a meeting as this; but, gentlemen, you will admit that it is in response to a call of duty towards our country and our Muslim brothers and that call we could not ignore.

At the outset I would like to point out that the continued detention of our interned friends is hardly consistent with the declaration of policy made by the Home Member in the Supreme Legislative Council on the 5th of September last. Since that occasion when it was said on behalf of the Government that the cases of the brothers were under consideration we have come to know of the curious visit to Chindwara of a C. I. D. official who preceded our friend the patriotic Raja of Muhammadabad. (Cheers.) From the details made public by the letter we have been assured of the position of Messrs. Mahomad Ali and Shaukat Ali. And yet, what did happen, gentleman, which compelled the Government to change their mind, and put themselves in an

unfriendly attitude instead of the friendly, one so much appreciated by the Indian public? We have no satisfactory answer and the whole mystery continued to our bewilderment. The hostile attitude of the Government has unfortunately produced certain distrust and suspicion in the mind of the public and we, therefore, through the proceedings of this meeting are giving an opportunity to the Government to dispel our doubts and suspicions. What is it that we propose? At the outset we offer our own opinion and demand the release of our interned friends. Next, we say to the authorities if you cannot do so, for reasons of state, adopt the course we now suggest; appoint a committee of enquiry including independent Indians of sound judicial temperament whose words and views carry convictions to our minds and hearts. Instruct such a Committee to sift all the evidence, confidential and otherwise, which the C.I.D. and others have to offer; next let the Committee interview the interned persons, enquire what understandings they are willing to offer and then give their advice and opinion to the Government. If the advice and opinion confirm the present view held by the Government, at least the Indian public will have the satisfaction to learn that some of their own most thoughtful and independent countrymen are also responsible for the present policy.

DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT.

Now, I want to point out to you, gentlemen, that we are not asking for something extravagant or unreasonable. In Great Britain where the Defence of the Realm Act exists a procedure similar to the one we suggest as an exceptional remedy in this instance is always followed. Mr. Herbert Samuel, writing in a recent number of the *New Statesman*, says: The Defence of the Realm Act provided that "His Majesty in Council has power, during the continuance of the war, to issue regulations securing the public safety and the defence of the realm." Under this authority a regulation was made, No. 14 B, empowering the Home Secretary to order the internment of any person "of hostile origin or association" in whose case he considered it expedient to do so for the sake of the public safety or the defence of the realm. Each case was to be considered by an Advisory Committee, which, when constituted, consisted of two Judges of the High Court and four members of Parliament; but the final decision rested with the Secretary of State.

But, gentlemen, even this procedure was challenged in Parliament, in the Courts, in Press. What was urged? I will let Mr. Herbert Samuel speak: "It was urged, first, that no British subject ought to be deprived of his liberty, except by the order of a judicial authority after a fair trial in

a Court of Law. It was urged, secondly, that if, in exceptional circumstances, the power to imprison without trial was to be conferred upon the Executive, this ought to be done by the express terms of an act of Parliament, and not by an administrative regulation based upon general words in a statute which had been passed with no such application in view. The names of Magna Carta, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, were invoked. The action of the Government was denounced as a subversion of the fundamental rights of the British subject.

"The persons interned under Regulation 14 B were all persons who, in the opinion both of the Secretary of State and of the Advisory Committee, could not safely be left at large. They were known to be disloyal, but they had done no act which could be made the subject of charge in a Court of Law. If such a man were of German Nationality, he could be sent to internment under the Common Law powers possessed by the Executive in time of war. But if he had been naturalised in Great Britain, however little he might have changed his sentiments, or if he were a British-born subject, however notorious might be his willingness to serve German interests in any opportunity that might arise, such a man but for this regulation, could not be touched. He must be left free to carry on any machinations in which he might care to engage

The Government, in such cases, would have had no power to forestall espionage or to prevent outrage."

If that be the attitude, gentlemen, in Great Britain, what should be said of this country? Even this Regulation 14 B was not approved of and challenged and what we want now as a special concession in the instance of our Muslim brothers is the adoption in substance of the procedure of Regulation No. 14 B. It demands, let me repeat, an Advisory Committee consisting of two Judges and four members of Parliament. Such an Advisory Committee ought really to be constituted in every single case of internment in this country. Some 1,500 of our people are interned without any judicial trial or any enquiry by such an Advisory Committee. We know, gentlemen, that the Government can and has made mistakes. The absolutely unconditional release of Mrs. Besant and her two friends (cheers) show that the local Government was wrong in their action. Public agitation has brought their release and agitation was made possible because the public knew Mrs. Besant and the nature of her activities. If the public has not agitated in the cases of 1,500 men it is because of its inherent loyalty which trusts the word of the Government; but let me plead with the authorities and tell them not to tax the patience and the trusting nature of the Indian public too

much. (Hear, hear.) I will frankly say what thousands to-day whisper in bated breadth that they believe Messrs. Mahommad Ali and Shaukat Ali to be not guilty (hear, hear) and they feel resentment towards the policy of the authorities which detains the two brothers in their confinement ; this policy on the Indian public, both Hindu and Muslim, regard as unjust. If the course suggested by you, gentlemen, is not adopted, I, for one, do not see how the Government can ask us to trust them and continue to trust them. (Cheers.) There is another aspect which I must touch upon : it is felt by our Muslim friends that the detention of Messrs. Mahommad Ali and Shaukat Ali is a kind of reflection on the loyalty of the Islamic community. Though a Hindu I understand that feeling and draw the attention of the Government to it, especially in reference to the growing effect of such a sentiment on a religiously minded people as the followers of the Prophet Mahommad.

It is not necessary for me to dilate upon the aspect of legal test which should be applied to all cases of internment in this country. It is of course necessary to test in the High Court here and before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England the legality of the orders of internment and we propose to do that in the case of Messrs. Mahommad Ali and Shaukat Ali.

THE ARRAH RIOTS.

Gentlemen, I do not want to detain you and the various speakers will explain the position in detail. There is only one point I wish to put before you, and that is in connection with the recent unfortunate riots at Arrah on the subject of which a resolution will be put before you. From long experience and because of the things I know I would like you to view these riots between Hindus and Muslims in a proper light. It is a well-known fact that these communal feuds do not take place in Indian States and it is also very strange that they break out at certain opportune periods of National awakening. (Cheers.) At the time of the National awakening in Bengal we heard of these riots and now again we heard of them. However, the event, exaggerated or not, has unfortunately occurred.

From the reports and dissensions in the public Press which I have followed I gather that a section of our Muslim friends are of opinion that the Hindus were at fault. Whether that was so or not as exactly described I am not fit to say, but as a Hindu I offer my heartfelt apologies to all Muslims who have suffered at the hands of my co-religionists. (Cheers.) Being a Theosophist I am a cosmopolitan in matters of religion. I may claim to be as much a Mahommadan as a Hindu, for my reverence towards Mahommad the Prophet of Allah

and His Al Quaran is as deep as towards Shri Krishna and the Vedas. Hindus or Muslims, we are children of one Mother; for her glory and welfare we are at present labouring night and day, and I appeal most fervently to all my countrymen and countrywomen to forgive and forget all petty quarrels and let us stand united in the service of our Common Motherland. (Loud cheers.)

MEMORANDA ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS*

I

THE BUREAUCRACY

The case for a reform of the present system of Indian administration may be based upon various grounds, all of them convincing but involving various degrees of urgency. I do not propose here to cover ground which has no doubt been taken up in various other representations to the Secretary of State and shall therefore confine myself to one aspect of the question which appears to me to be the most serious, as it discloses a state of things fraught with grave and ever-growing danger to the permanence of the Imperial connection. I refer to the manner in which the Bureaucracy is losing touch with those whom it governs. It has, in the words of Mr. Montagu, grown "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic" to adequately fulfil the needs of rapidly changing conditions.

It is a favourite charge against Indian politicians that they desire to subvert British administration in India. The method of trying to minimise the force of your opponent's argument by questioning

* Presented to the Rt. Hon'ble Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, at Madras, in December, 1917.

his motives is one not unfamiliar in countries more politically advanced than India. As a matter of fact the only motive actuating Indian politicians in their necessarily severe criticism of the present system, is the consciousness that there is too little of the British character in that administration. They have been taught to regard British institutions as the most felicitous combination of good government and freedom that has yet been achieved in history. Their actual experience of the British administration in India is that it consists of an irresponsible autocracy, with virtues doubtless of its own, but tending in the passage of years to develop the vices that are inevitable even in the best-intentioned of autocracies. It is scarcely necessary to say that irresponsibility begets self-sufficiency, impatience of criticism, a belief in its own inevitability and, last but not least, a conscious passive resistance with reference to reforms of any kind.

The situation would have been bad enough where the administration was of the same race as those it rules. In that case, at least, being of the people, if not for the people, it might be expected to share the feelings, and exhibit a certain deference to the opinions, of its subjects. In India, however, the defects of bureaucratic rule are accentuated by the fact that the administration, or that portion of it which holds the reins of power, consists of an alien race with ideals and a civilisation sundered as widely as the poles from

those of its subjects. Nor is that the worst. The administration is not merely alien racially, for if that were all we might expect that a race with the traditions of freedom and bred up in the democratic atmosphere of Britain would be capable of sympathising with and guiding the aspirations of the subject race. Unfortunately the administration has become the special preserve of a caste—and we in India have had bitter experience of the soul-deadening effects of caste-rule. That caste has traditions and shibboleths of its own. It is a close corporation, recruiting its ranks, it is true, regularly from the outside world, but taking the utmost precautions that the neophyte shall assimilate its traditions and atmosphere, and punishing the aberrations of an occasional strong-minded man, tempted to stray from the narrow path laid down by it, by the crushing weight of its collective disapproval or, even in extreme cases, by means of social ostracism. It has thus developed a type with well-marked characteristics, and nothing is more remarkable than the way in which new recruits assimilate to that type. So powerful is its influence and so overpowering is the anæsthetic character of its atmosphere that instances have not been wanting where men who have spent a lifetime in the democratic air of England have succumbed to its narcotic influence and surrendered with cheerful passivity the princi ples of a lifetime.

In this connection it may be worth while enquiring how far the system of appointing British statesmen to important positions in India can be developed. In any case it is sufficient for our purpose here to note that the five-years' term of Indian pro-consulates is much too long in the case of the weaker specimens who are unable to resist the peculiar atmosphere of Indian officialdom, and much too short in the case of those others—much rarer —who are able to resist that influence and survive with all their principles in full working order; for it takes them an appreciable portion of their period of office to fight off the lethargy of soul that the atmosphere engenders.

I have said that the bureaucracy is a close corporation, the monopoly of a caste, with traditions and ideals of its own. That caste is the Indian Civil Service, which a discerning, if irreverent, phrase-maker called the "Heaven-born Service." It may not be out of place to examine these traditions and ideals, for they lay bare the defects and virtues of bureaucratic rule. The first of these may be briefly summarised in the single phrase "white man's burden". That connotes that the rule of the white man over the coloured is inevitable, that the latter is unable to rule himself with any degree of efficiency, that in his own interests it is better that he should be ruled by a white man than by himself, that such

rule is not only best for the present but, since his capacity for Self-Government is non-existent and therefore cannot be developed, for all time. That is perhaps an extreme position which in the rapidly changing conditions not even the most extreme exponent of the school dares openly to set forth, but the feeling is none the less present because it cannot find open expression, and inevitably colours the views and actions of the average members of the Service. It is at the bottom of much of the recent arguments advanced against the Indian claims that it is better for India that should be ruled by the Service, that her interests are safer in its hands than in those of educated Indians, who by the conclusive logic of vociferous reiteration have been proved to be selfish and self-seeking exploiters of their own countrymen.

Thus far the argument is objective. Subjectively, the Service boasts of its efficiency, points to its past record, and deduces a claim to the continuance of its privileged position in the present. It is the "Heaven-born" Service because it is the most efficient service in the world, with the proud records of sacrifice made at the altar of their adoption that readers of Mr. Rudyard Kipling ought to be familiar with. To say it is also the costliest Service in the world is perhaps a mercenary way of estimating services on which no money-value can be placed, and we must not be thought to under-

value the great and undoubted services rendered by the Service as a body in the past, if we urge that the bureaucracy cannot justify its present existence by past usefulness any more than a worn-out howitzer, whose continued use would be more dangerous to friend than to foe, can urge in its behalf the memory of the days when it spoke with effect.

These then are the two great traditions of the Service, the tradition of its inevitability and the tradition of its services. From overmuch contemplation of, and insistence on, these traditions spring up many characteristics that go to define the type, and it is a curious perversion of things that at the present time the true test of the perfect Service man is rather the possession of the characteristics than the traditions. Perhaps the most offensive of these characteristics to the educated Indian is the consciousness of racial superiority. The Service man in his dealings with the Indian is not merely the official in relation to the non-official, he is a member of a superior race dealing with one of an inferior, and there is consequently a noticeable, if more or less unconscious, feeling of contempt that the Indian finds it hard to put up with. Of this spirit of arrogance examples could be multiplied, from the civilian who once divided Indians into two classes, those who are in jail, and those who ought to be in it, down to the latest "candid friend" lecturing Indians on their deficiencies of character. This

last is perhaps a characteristic by itself, for there must be a distinction, however subtle, between the consciousness of your own superiority and the consciousness of your neighbour's inferiority. In expression at any rate the one feeling is patent and offensive in proportion, in the other implied and perhaps a degree less provocative of resentment. Of the latter of course the great examples are Sir Michæl O'Dwyer's lecture in the Imperial Council on the duties of loyal citizens and his exposition of by how much the Indian politicians fell short of the ideal, and the remarks of Mr. Wood of Roorkee College on the deficiencies of Indian character.

But the proceedings of every Legislative Council, every school or college with European masters, the day to-day dealings of civilians with their subordinates or with non-officials, furnish abundant examples of this spirit. The naive surprise expressed at the resentment generally aroused by such lectures and the inference that Indians are unduly sensitive to criticism is perhaps proof that the arrogance which is resented is unconscious, but it nevertheless is there, and is of course the true cause of offence.

As a matter of fact it is not the Indian public which is unduly sensitive to criticism: it is the Bureaucracy. But the man with a gun in his hand has always the better of the argument with one

unarmed. He can act, while the latter can only talk, and the tendency of the Bureaucracy has ever been to treat criticism not with contempt but with silent action taken to muzzle it. A study of the policy of repression steadily pursued in India with such intervals as the advent of a strong or liberal-minded Viceroy has necessitated, will be convincing testimony of the Bureaucracy's sensitiveness to criticism. The law of sedition and the manner in which it has been interpreted by courts composed of, or at least sympathetic with, the Service; the amendments carried out in the teeth of protests to widen its scope, the long series of measures, among them the Sedition Act, the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Act and Post Office (Amendment) Act of 1898, Official Secrets Act of 1904, Seditious Meetings Acts of 1907, 1910, 1911, Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act and Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, Indian Press Act of 1910, Conspiracy Act of 1913 and Defence of India Act of 1915, a Code far too Draconian to be explained on the mere ground of necessities of efficient administration; all these testify to the manner in which the Bureaucracy resents criticism. When on top of the vast powers conferred by this Code it was sought to use a purely War measure—and assented to by the Indian members of the Council as such—for the purpose of stifling criticism, the patience of the

public reached breaking-point, and the internments of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers roused the public to a pitch of indignation which was only paralleled by the feeling in Bengal over the partition. Fortunately that indignation was assuaged by the new policy inaugurated with the advent of Mr. Montagu. But the Indian public has neither forgotten nor forgiven how nearly the bureaucratic spirit triumphed. "No quarter for Home Rulers," was the war-cry enunciated by a Madras Anglo-Indian journal. "No quarter for the Bureaucracy," must be the war-cry of the public, for it feels that vast issues are at stake in the struggle; its very existence, the heritage of two centuries of British rule, the position of India in the Empire and the status of Indians, whether they are to be helots or freemen.

The ideals of one generation are the accomplished facts of the next and, as in every well-ordered State it is necessary for all true progress that there should be an element whose characteristic is conservative caution as well as one of progress, it may be argued that the existence of a Bureaucracy, acting as a brake upon a too rapid progress fraught with risks to the State, is amply justified. Thus it may be pointed out that the Bureaucracy in India is the Indian incarnation of the Conservative party in England, regarding whose usefulness in the scheme of ordered development of British polity there can be no question. The casuists who employ this

false analogy will no doubt argue that the Indian leaders who form the party of progress have in the main an educative mission to perform, that their duty is to instruct and convince the people of India about the necessity of their measures of reform, and when that task has been performed, the conservative element has to yield with such grace as it can command. But what are we to think of a state of things in which, to work out the analogy, the Conservative party are in the position of holding for perpetuity the reins of power, with the Liberals wandering in the wilderness with no probability as far as can be seen, of the appearance of any Heaven-inspired deliverer? How long, we ask, could the British people be expected to put up with such a situation? History has furnished the answer time and again, and what we ask of the British democracy is to put itself in the position in which the Indian people, concerning the rousing of whose national consciousness there can be no question, now finds itself.

But, it may be argued, reforms in India may be slow but they are certain. The Bureaucracy may oppose them but even the strongest of Governments can only delay, not prevent, any reforms which the people insistently demand. Whenever the British democracy has one of its periodical searchings of heart in regard to its responsibility in India, it manages to get reforms carried out which go some way on

the lines demanded by the Indian public, while an occasional liberal-minded Viceroy rises superior enough to his atmosphere to insist upon such reforms. But Viceroys may come and Viceroys may go, but the Bureaucracy goes on for ever. The fleeting searchings of heart of the British democracy are necessarily few and far between, and the Bureaucracy is in the position of the steward who knows or thinks he knows what is best in his master's interests and receives his occasional instructions with his tongue in his cheek. When the present King-Emperor, then Prince of Wales, made his famous appeal for more sympathy in the treatment of Indian problems, the world applauded the sentiment, but the appeal did not touch the heart of the Bureaucracy. Individuals here and there felt a warm glow of affection steal through them for the land of their adoption, but as the Bureaucracy has an entity apart from the entities of its members, its withers were unwrung at the implied rebuke. Like any other corporation composed of individually excellent people, it has neither a body to kick nor a soul to be saved. It is this spirit of passive obstruction to anything that would affect its own position and authority and against which Indian politicians have been knocking their heads in vain for two generations past, which has at last convinced them that the Bureaucracy

cannot be mended with any hope of its being made to serve the country in the future.

There has been no single major reform that the Bureaucracy has introduced of its own volition; none that it has not opposed tooth and nail; none that it has not tried to emasculate in the carrying out. We need not here go through the long list of reforms for which Indian politicians have been clamouring, the justice to which is obvious, but many of which are still tasks of undetermined future. They include such matters of common justice as simultaneous examinations, the apportionment of military expenditure between England and India, abolition of forced labour and forced supplies, reduction of "Home charges"; such questions of the elementary rights of civilised human beings as trial by jury, military training and the position of Indians in the Colonies; matters of administrative reform which ought to be commonplaces in any advanced system of Government, as the separation of judicial and executive functions, the reform of land revenue system, recruitment of the judiciary from the bar, relief of agricultural indebtedness, the larger employment of Indians; such accepted duties of the State to the people as free and compulsory primary education, extension of technical education and industrial development, periodical enquiries into the economic condition of the people; abolition of the restrictions on public rights such as liberty of

speech, writing and public meetings; and finally the major political reforms associating the people of the country in an increasing degree with their own Government. Mere opposition to reform is not the worst of the Bureaucracy's sins. What is much more serious is the manner in which it is allowed to whittle down and render ineffective such reforms as the Indian people after an arduous struggle manage to obtain sanction for from Parliament. It is true the Bureaucracy is as it were put upon its honour to work the scheme of reforms, though in ordinary life no sane man would choose as guardian for his treasure the opponent with whom he has just had a fierce fight over its possession. But the Bureaucracy, if by its implicit parole, it is forbidden to "kill" its charge, need not, in the words of the poet, "strive officiously to save." Experience, at any rate, has shown that it is not wise to trust too much to the sense of duty of the Bureaucracy. To take the two greatest forward steps within the last fifty years nobody can pretend that Lord Ripon's scheme for the extension of Local Self-Government or the Morley-Minto reforms have achieved, even in an appreciable degree, all that was hoped for by their authors. Our local bodies are after a generation still machines for registering the decrees of the local official, and our Legislative Councils still costly debating societies of considerable powers of boredom, the non-official members

in an attitude of alternate criticism and supplication with the Government in one of permanent negation.

The traditional conception of the typical bureaucrat is of a bluff, straightforward and shrewd Englishman, prevailing by his directness of speech and method over the supposed tortuous ways of wily Orientals over whom he is set in authority. It may be that there have been such men in the past. When the preservation of peace and order was the first necessity to which all others had to yield, the justification for the extraordinary powers vested in the official lay in the importance of his task. In whatever he did he was justified of all men so long as that necessity was satisfied, and consequently he could do what he thought was right with a simple directness that has perhaps been the inspiration of more encomiums than it deserved. But other times, other manners. With the growth of public life the official finds his tasks growing more and more complex. He has now to placate and convince where once he could command. In this period of transition he is compelled to exhibit new characteristics, with the result that he is arrogant where he can be safely, and intrigues when he must. For where the powers and privileges of his caste are concerned he cannot any longer afford to treat his enemies with contempt, and in the defence of the indefensible he employs the weapons familiar

to the supporter of every illogical, out-of-date system struggling to maintain its hold.

In justice to him it must be confessed that he has beaten the Oriental at his own game and developed a complete art of statecraft which could give points to a syndicate composed of Machiavelli, Li Hung Chang and Abdul Hamid. The cardinal pillar of the fabric is of course an ancient one. It is the familiar principle of "divide and rule" which has of late been brought into unblushing use in bolstering up the position of the Bureaucracy. It is difficult to speak calmly of the manner in which the centrifugal tendencies of the various elements of the Indian population, the overcoming of which is a slow and painful process, are being encouraged by the Bureaucracy in order that its power may be unimpaired. When the Congress movement started, it set up the Muslims of India as a kind of opposition to that movement, and by a policy of steady preference for that community contrived to keep alive the differences between the two communities till recently. Now that those communities have made up their quarrels and seen the wisdom of agreeing upon a common programme, we are witnessing an attempt, particularly in South India, to create dissensions in the ranks of the Hindus. A few words about the much advertised non-Brahmana movement may not be out of place

here. There has for a long time existed among the non-Brahmanas of this Presidency a feeling of discontent with their own position in comparison with the past, the rapid rise of the Brahmanas to prominence and the manner in which they have taken advantage of English education to absorb a considerable proportion of offices under Government. This feeling was intensified by the sense of social superiority which Brahmanas had come to enjoy and which was becoming naturally distasteful to other communities advancing in education. The discontent, however, was latent and was not serious enough to be noticed until the Bureaucracy in this Presidency, where alone such a state of things existed, woke up to the need of counteracting the Home Rule movement which was spreading with alarming rapidity. Whether the Bureaucracy suggested the move to the leaders of the non-Brahmana movement or whether it merely welcomed its new ally, it is well known that it has kept in very close touch with that movement, that it has encouraged and aided it at every turn. When it shall have served its turn the movement will no doubt be thrown aside like a cast-off glove, but its main purpose now in the eyes of the Bureaucracy is to serve as a means of discounting the demand for reform. The movement provoked a counter-movement, and each claims to represent the majority of non-Brahmanas in this Presidency. The Bureaucracy is keenly interested in the issue and does

a good deal of judicious wire-pulling from behind the scenes.

Good Americans when they die go to Paris. There is similarly a class of people in India whose ideas of heaven are limited to Government House parties and all that basking in the smiles of officialdom of which such parties are the symbol. Perhaps owing to the peculiar circumstances in this country, they are more numerous here than elsewhere. Of this class the Bureaucracy has not been slow to take advantage, attempting to rally them to its cause by methods which would do credit to Tammany Hall.

If the Bureaucracy is a valiant defender of its own interests it is no less solicitous of those others whom it regards as peculiarly under its fostering care. We need not labour this point of "vested interests," for that they exist and that their existence is acknowledged in the most practical form possible by the Bureaucracy, is capable of proof by a number of instances. To take a recent example, the Anglo-Indian agitation, if there is one thing more remarkable than the licence of language of the Anglo-Indian press it is the absolute impunity with which it is allowed to carry on a campaign which is fraught with the gravest consequences for good relations between the two races in India. And yet it manages to proceed from one rhetorical flight to another, broadening rapidly from precedent to precedent in its campaign against the Secretary of

State, the Viceroy and the Indian public in general. Were a strong-minded Viceroy to take any action in the matter we have no doubt that the Bureaucracy would make its protest felt in a manner that would leave no doubt of its emphasis. It is one thing to try to conciliate an opponent; it is quite another to harm an ally, and the Anglo-Indian press is one of the firmest and most faithful allies of the Bureaucracy. It is a kind of semi-official press, the editors of which are extended the privilege of intimate social relations with members of Governments, and forming the medium for the expression of official views. Thus a local journal was able to announce before any other that the release of Mrs. Besant was in contemplation.

There are likewise other "vested interests," one of which is the peculiar position claimed in effect by Europeans in respect of the law of the land. If they are not entirely above it, they can at any rate claim that that law shall be as leniently applied for their benefit as possible. The peculiarly favourable terms on which planters are allowed to hold land, the powers placed in their hands to control their labourers, of which the Champaran enquiry gave such a startling exposure, the general preference shown to Europeans as against Indians in many details connected with the administration of the country, are some more examples of the application of the theory of "vested interests".

We come lastly to the question of efficiency. The Bureaucracy is justified because it is efficient. "After me, the deluge" may well be the motto of the typical bureaucrat. To any suggestions for reform of the public services, for introducing a larger Indian element into those services, the invariable reply is that efficiency must not be sacrificed to sentiment. The British character of the administration must be preserved. Such a position postulates two things, both of which are in the nature of begging the question. One is that the extension of the Indian element would affect efficiency, or to put it in another way, the British character of the administration. The second is that the bureaucracy is so highly efficient at present that any change in its character would lead to loss of efficiency. As regards the former we need only point to the long list of successful Indian administrators who have made many Native States models of efficiency. Can it, for a moment, be argued that men who, in the backward conditions that generally obtained in Native States of the old type, have managed to evolve efficient administrative machinery, are not capable of continuing the traditions of efficiency in the British administration?

With regard to the second point, is it so certain that the Bureaucracy is so efficient as it claims to be? The Mesopotamia report presented a different picture. We are prepared to concede that the

Bureaucracy was once efficient, when nothing more was asked of it than to preserve law and order, to see that there was no flagrant oppression, that the jarring elements kept the peace and that the weak man was not at the mercy of his stronger neighbour. Our quarrel with it is that it has not kept pace with the changing times. It is supposed in some mysterious way to be the champion of the voiceless masses against a microscopic minority of self-seeking politicians who aspire to power for their own ends. A statement so palpably absurd needs no refutation. Suffice it to ask one simple question: How many roforms of benefit to the masses did the Bureaucracy carry out of its own volition, or even otherwise than after the repeated and urgent insistence of the Indian politicians; and how many of the reforms now asked for by the latter are meant to benefit themselves at the expense of the masses? The Bureaucracy is intolerant, it is growingly inefficient and it is developing a most harmful spirit of pragmatism. Are Indians unreasonable if they claim that a system which has had its day should give place to one more suited to the rapidly changing conditions of this country?

I hope I have conclusively shewn that the Bureaucracy is not a fit guardian of any scheme of reform, that it cannot be trusted to work it out with that sympathetic care which it requires. Valuable

therefore as is the announcement of the British Cabinet in regard to the ultimate goal of Self-Government for India, it is as yet only the latest of a long series of assurances of good will from the British democracy which have not been translated into action. The responsibility for non-fulfilment lies at the doors of the Bureaucracy, and the Indian public has no confidence that the latest announcement of policy will not remain as much of a dead letter as the previous ones, or that after a few initial "reforms" the Bureaucracy will not cease its insidious attempts to stop further progress. Since likewise the British Parliament cannot be expected to take that constant and unremitting interest in India which is necessary to keep alive the flame of progress, the necessity is imperative that the reforms now under consideration should include a definite time-limit for the various stages towards Self-Government. This the Indian public regards as far more vital than even the scope of the initial reforms. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick," and of that indisposition the Indian public has had its fill.

THE AWAKENING.

In conclusion, I may perhaps be permitted to add a few words of personal explanation. I belong to a generation which has all but disappeared, the tradition of which was to support the Government as a public servant, and I cannot therefore be

accused of being an impatient idealist or of wishing to subvert a rule which my generation has done a great deal towards consolidating. I have spent over 40 years in the service of the country and the King-Emperor, rising from the humblest beginnings to the highest office in the judiciary of the land. I do not wish to make a parade of my loyalty or to make of it a cloak behind which to attack the British administration, but apart from my conservative traditions and my record of service I had the honour to welcome His Majesty King George, then Prince of Wales, to this Presidency, and still cherish those feelings of respect and reverence for his person which his visit inspired all over India. But I have not been unobservant of the rapid progress the country is making under British rule. That progress is vast and unbelievable to one who is not like me a survival from an older generation. I have watched the Bureaucracy getting rapidly out of touch with the people. I have watched that people growing daily stronger in National consciousness. I have witnessed the awakening of political interest in the masses to a degree which would surprise the Bureaucracy. I am convinced that there is a sincere and wide-spread demand for Home Rule, and not merely as an Indian but as one who has helped in some degree to the building up of the fabric of British Government in India, I must regard this reform as inevitable. I have laid stress

upon the defects of the Bureaucracy because I am convinced that unless those defects are remedied the fabric which has been erected at so much sacrifice will be in danger of collapsing. No State can long endure in which officialdom is permanently out of touch with the ideas and aspirations of the public.

HOME RULE.

I hope I have made it sufficiently clear that, apart from any intrinsic virtues in Self-Government or any question of Home Rule being the only fitting crown of the mission of Britain in India, the establishment of closer relations between the State and the people than now obtains under a system in which the interests of the two appear so widely separated, is the first necessity of the situation. The only solution history has ever found for such diseases in the body politic is the extension of popular control over the executive. That is why Home Rule appears to me not only inevitable, not only a gracious boon conferred upon the people of this country by Britain, but the only remedy adequate to the needs of the situation, the only measure that can insure the continuance of the British Empire.

II

NO CLIQUE OR FACTION

In submitting my views on the need for constitutional reforms to the Secretary of State last month, I took the liberty of offering, in the latter part of the memorandum, a few words of personal explanation by way of suggesting how the need for the recognition of Home Rule on which I laid stress, came to be deemed by me as the only remedy adequate to the needs of the situation; and how I felt compelled to commend the granting of the same for favourable consideration and adoption.

Since submitting my above memorandum, it has occurred to me that it is necessary to add a few more words to that personal explanation. This necessity is due to the futile outcry now much in evidence here against certain persons sought to be tabooed as seeking to subvert the existing Government and substitute for it a "*Brahmin Vakil oligarchy*" from none of whom the masses can ever look for any support of good.

My object here is to state certain facts connected with my life as a public servant and public worker during a period of thirty years, ending with my retirement as Judge of His Majesty's High Court in Madras which would afford incontrovertible proofs showing that, in spite of my *Brahmin caste* and

my connection with law, I was not slack in rendering substantial service to a considerable mass of agriculturists throughout the Presidency, and that I am hardly the person who could have been induced to join a so-called oligarchic conspiracy. Now to the facts which I wish briefly to submit:

I was born in an ordinary family, the members whereof held agricultural lands in the southern part of the Presidency. Some of them occupied minor posts in the public service. After a very limited education, I myself obtained a footing in the same service, beginning with Rs. 20 a month. This was in 1859 when I was about 17. I continued in Government service for about 9 years, during which period, my work brought me into frequent contact with the agricultural population in the District. In 1869, I entered the legal profession, having been then enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court. For a period of 27 years, I continued to practise and had professional engagements in many parts of the Presidency. I had to appear in cases relating to disputes between the occupiers of the soil called *raiyats* in some of the permanently settled tracts and the holders under such settlement ordinarily spoken of, in this Presidency, as Zemindars. This necessarily added to my knowledge of the land tenures in the country. The knowledge thus acquired became serviceable, when, as a Judge of the High Court from 1895—1907, during which

period I also acted as Chief Justice thrice, it became my duty on a number of occasions to adjudicate upon questions arising between the Zemindars and the occupiers of the soil.

About the year 1864, a statute had been passed by the Madras Legislative Council, which purported to amend and consolidate the old enactments of the early part of the nineteenth century dealing with the relative rights of those Zemindars and those occupiers of the soil. In dealing with this statute, some of the Judges in the country—all Europeans—had expressed themselves in terms capable of unsettling, by an erroneous application of notions of English Land Laws, the long established relations between the said two classes, contributing to evictions and attempts to evict cultivators on a large scale in different parts of the Presidency. The mischief due to such judicial pronouncement had made itself evident within a decade of the passing of the said consolidating enactment. This was one of the causes that led to a recommendation for legislation, so as to protect tenants from arbitrary eviction by landlords, being made by the Famine Commission which sat in 1877 with Mr. James Caird as one of its members, and before which I gave evidence advocating that such protection of the masses of the cultivating class was urgently needed. After some lapse of time, the Madras Government appointed a Commission to prepare a draft law, dealing with the whole subject

of the relations between the Zemindars on the one band, and the occupiers and cultivators of the soil on the other. I was one of the members of that Commission which held its sittings in 1885 and submitted a draft. It was not until after the lapse of about 19 years, that the discussion on the subject between the Madras authorities and the Government of India resulted in the introduction of a final bill called the Estates Land Bill, in 1904, during the regime of Lord Ampthill, which became law during the next regime of Sir Arthur Lawley under the title of Estates Land Act. The fundamental question involved in the said legislation was whether the millions of occupiers of the soil constituting the agricultural population of the permanently settled Zemindaris, were, as contended by the Zemindars, mere tenants at will or tenants from year to year, or whether, as the raiyats contended, they had a permanent right to remain on the land subject, of course, to the customary revenue and other dues being paid to the Zemindars as the assignees of the right of the Government to such revenue and dues, liable to eviction only in default of payment of the same and only under due process of legal adjudication, before the constituted revenue and other tribunals.

The Zemindars naturally made common cause all over the country and endeavoured to get the legislature to accept their own contention which had prevailed

before Judges more familiar with the rules of tenancy in England than with the Indian customary law and usages. Fortunately for the country the efforts of the Zemindars failed. The legislature decided in favour of the raiyats, finding that their contention had the support of the customary law of the country, as expounded and explained by two Indian Judges, my predecessor and myself, in more detail and in a larger number of cases. All this was acknowledged at the time of the introduction of the Bill both by the Hon. Mr. G. S. Forbes, the Member in charge of the Bill, and by Lord Ampthill, the then Governor and President of the Council. The former said :

" I do not know whether it is really necessary at this time of day to enter upon any critical examination of the status of the Zemindar and the raiyat, seeing that the whole question has been so lucidly discussed and the right inherent in the status of both so clearly laid down in recent years in well known judgments of the High Court under the able guidance of those very distinguished Judges, Sir Muthuswamy Iyer and Sir Subramania Iyer. These judgments lay down in effect that *qua* the public cultivable land of the estate, the Zemindar is not a landlord in the sense of the English law of Landlord and Tenant, nor the raiyat a tenant, but the former is an assignee of the Government land revenue and that the latter possesses rights of occupancy indefeasible so long as he pays the Zemindar's due.

Whatever may have been the construction placed on the provisions of Act VIII of 1865, some twenty years ago, it is fortunate that in later years its interpretation has been in the hands of Judges not only great and eminent lawyers, but jurists possessed of a mature knowledge of the common law of this country and imbued with its spirit, I refer, I need not say to those great Judges, Sir Muthuswamy Iyer and Sir Subramania Iyer. Nothing has strengthened the hands of the Government in prosecuting the legislation so much as the expositions of the law which these Judges have from time to time given forth on the questions which are fundamental in this Bill, and of this Bill passes, it is a deep debt of gratitude that the agricultural population of this Presidency will owe to the memory of Sir Muthuswamy Iyer and to the labours of Sir S. Subramania Iyer."

The President's remarks were as follows:

We therefore decided no longer to take the Bengal Tenancy Act as our model, but adopted the principle that every cultivator admitted by the landholder to the cultivation of the estate lands, not being private domain, is entitled to the status of an occupancy raiyat protected against eviction at the landholders' will, so long as he pays the established or prescribed rates. This, we hold, is the position which the cultivator enjoyed under ancient custom throughout India and which, although it has often been obscured, has never been entirely lost in this Presidency. It

is the position which has been confirmed by recent decisions of the High Court and we now wish to make it part of the substantive law of the land. I have heard it said that the raiyat of Southern India will never know how much he owes to Justice Sir S. Subramania Iyer for having declared "that the common law of Madras gives every raiyat an occupancy right irrespective of the period of his holding". It is this opinion—an opinion which has been upheld in repeated declarations of Government which we wish to focus and stereotype.

I have only to add in this connection that in the enactment of this Bill into law, it was chiefly the Brahmin and also the non-Brahmin members of the Council belonging to this so-called oligarchy that most warmly co-operated with the Government, and that the stiff opposition which this declaration of the rights of the raiyats encountered in the Legislative Council came, naturally, from the class who now pose as their protectors against the oligarchic schemers, and who, for so many generations, have continued to keep a tight hold over the tenants and have never been known to interest themselves in anything else belonging to the raiyat but the full share of the produce of the soil they could lay claim to. I beg to conclude this part of my memorandum by only adding that people who have thus in this and many other ways supported the cause of the raiyats all along both inside and outside the legisla-

tures of the country can hardly be described with any degree of truth as a self-seeking clique opposed to their interests. One like myself, who supported the cause of the raiyats from the year 1877, before the Famine Commission, right on to the day when from my place on the Bench I did my best to effectuate their rights and thus materially contributed to their victory in their difficult contest with their wealthy opponents—cannot be disposed of as a self-seeking Brahmin inimical to the masses, and my strong advocacy in favour of the particular reforms recommended by me in my former memorandum was due solely to the reasons respectfully submitted by me therein.

I crave permission to conclude with the remark that, only when those reforms have been granted by Parliament and have become accomplished facts, only then can the masses—for whose well-being extreme solicitude is pretended to be evinced by the inventor of the novel phrase about the imaginary oligarchy—only then will they be able to look forward with some hope of realisation, for the freedom from these evils and misfortunes to which they are undeniably subject at the hands of the class so loudly professing friendship to them and to which class the inventor of the unscrupulous phrase himself belongs.

III

POPULAR GOVERNMENT

In my first memorandum, I endeavoured to state my general reasans for the urgent need for constitutional reforms in this country.

In the second memorandum, I added a few words of explanation to show that my testimony on the point was not that of a character to be set aside as belonging to any clique, factions or otherwise, I submitted that the only remedy, adequate for the situation, is the grant of Popular Government. In doing so, however, I entered into no detail as to the nature and character of what would meet the requirements of the case, having regard to its very special circumstances. As without some statement of mine on the matter my humble representations would be quite incomplete even in so far as I can present them sufficiently in communications like these, I crave permission to submit the following for such consideration may be deemed fit.

The highest merit, from the point of view of an Indian subject of His Majesty, in the Congress Muslim Scheme of 1916, is that it unhesitatingly and unequivocally claims for India that without which India's destiny as an integral part of the British Empire will not be attained. I mean true Home Rule.

That such rule India is to have finally, the present British Cabinet has now definitely admitted.

The precise date on which Home Rule, in its fullest sense, is to be an accomplished fact in India is a point on which the Imperial Parliament must decide soon, and its decision be made known in order that the present state of excitement and expectation may adjust themselves without unnecessary suspense.

It is not sufficient that the final expression of the said decision should be in any other form than a direct one in the Imperial Statute dealing with the subject; the Statute itself being, further, self-contained and leaving nothing essential for declarations in the form of mere Proclamations and the like.

It is scarcely necessary to state that the reason for the submission, respectfully made above, is the extreme distrust prevailing in this country as to the inviolability of promises, Royal or otherwise, to the people of India. It is the settled conviction that the now famous Dogma that solemn engagements, even by States and Kings, are but scraps of paper did not originate in Prussia but in England, and has been in practice again and again applied in so far as the Indian people are concerned. In a few cases, as for example, even with reference to some of the provisions of the Charter Act itself, the

Dogma in question has been openly acted on. It is high time that such a conviction in the minds of His Majesty's Indian subjects should cease to exist. And one way towards that most desirable end is to make the present instance such as to leave no room whatsoever for any doubt in the matter by embodying in the forthcoming Statute everything material bearing on the subject in hand, putting it out of the power of anyone in England or elsewhere, including future Cabinets, to create the least difficulty with reference to what is vital to the future growth of India, nay, to the interests of the Empire itself.

One more point about which it is felt necessary to add a few words here is the so-called grant of "Home Rule by instalments". It must be confessed that the phrase is a very puzzling one, in the absence of an authoritative and adequate explanation. It would not be difficult to find for the expression an intelligible sense if the intention was to grant Home Rule, say to Bengal at one time, to Madras at another time and so on. Even here, there is no such thing as Home Rule granted by instalments, say to Bengal, unless it is placed out of the control of the Government of India altogether and made into a distinct political unit. But in every other aspect of the subject, the phrase, under consideration, is clearly misleading and open to grave objection. It is said that the phrase is capable of covering such an arrangement

as the following: "Grant of Local Self-Government to begin with, next Provincial autonomy and lastly autonomy to the Government of India." The objection to this most fallacious view is obvious. For, in the first place, it is absurd to talk of Home Rule as really granted, unless it extends to and completely includes the head and the vital part of the State machinery concerned. In other words, it is utterly idle to talk of Home Rule to India, unless the Government of India is within the arrangement and not out of it. Surely, assuming all the rest of it, Provincial autonomy, Local Self-Government, etc., are all to be given, yet that would really mean a grant of something without its life, inasmuch as the Government of India, uncontrolled by the People's representatives, could utterly nullify with impunity the beneficial operation of the grant, in so far as the subordinate portions of the governmental machinery are concerned. Were it otherwise, it would be equally legitimate to talk of the grant of Home Rule to India by instalments if even nothing more than village autonomy is started as a first step. But that would be ridiculous. In short, to talk of the grant of Home Rule to India when Provincial autonomy and Local Self-Government are given unaccompanied by popular control over the Government of India is to talk of the birth of a headless trunk, still-born of course. Unquestionably, the term "Home Rule" ought never to be applied

except where the whole political unit concerned from top to bottom acquires the power of exercising such rule. This is but common sense and reason.

The recommendations below proceed on the assumption that full and true Home Rule to India will come into operation on a day to be fixed by a Statute; but till then, the administration in India will be carried on on strictly Home Rule lines, but safeguarded by that control of a final authority in England who, if willing, could easily guide the project to its full fruition. This intervening period may properly be described as the tentative period. In every view, this is the arrangement which should be most satisfactory to all concerned. For, on the one hand, it will enable the people to gain by direct experience that complete knowledge which they would require to carry on Home Rule successfully when the time for it arrives, subject at the same time to that impartial control which, in the interests of good government for India as well as in the interest of Great Britain, is indispensable during the tentative period. One absolute advantage that would attend the arrangement is that Great Britain would be in a position to decide upon facts, incontrovertible, the vexed question of the fitness or unfitness of the Indian people for Self-Government. Common justice demands that, if they are to be judged in the matter at all, it should be only as the result and on the basis of such

actual experiment. Everything else will be a matter of opinion on the part of those who are, in the very nature of things, bound in their own selfish interest to oppose the claim of the people.

If under these circumstances, even a trial, such as the one suggested above, during what has been termed the tentative period, were to be denied to them, it cannot but be viewed by them as a calamity alike to them and to the Empire, the responsibility for which will be entirely with England.

For a progressive scheme to be such as to work smoothly, during the tentative period two things are necessary.

First, the power of deciding whether particular measure is to become law or not should belong exclusively to the Elected Councillors; so also should the final opinion in India belong to them, as to the future continuance or modification of an existing policy under any particular head, or the introduction of new policies connected with the development of the resources of the country, and all measures affecting the permanent interest and well-being of the people. The elected members should likewise possess budget power subject to well defined exceptions on the score of the permanent or consolidated character of the charges.

Secondly, the power of veto should reside only in the British Cabinet and not with any official,

however high, in this country. Take, for example the instance of a Bill introduced by the Executive, but rejected by the Elected Councillors. In such a case, the British Cabinet would, if they deem fit, overrule the rejection and direct the provisions of the Bill or so much of it as they approve of, to be enforced as an Ordinance.

It is necessary to add that the power of veto, vested in the Cabinet, should be exercisable only where the Executive and the Elected Councillors fail to agree; but where they do agree, no control over them should be exercisable even by the Cabinet.

Final decisions relating to disagreement regarding questions of policy in India, will also have to issue from the Cabinet. If the functions and powers of the two branches are not so definitely marked out as above, but are left vague and in a state of uncertainty, the inevitable consequence will be constant disputes between the two Bodies—the Legislative trying to arrogate to itself authority more and more, while the aim of the Executive will be incessantly to curb and thwart the Elected Opposition.

The exclusive power of the Elected Councillors on the one hand, and the authority of veto in England instead of its being vested in the Executive or its presiding Chiefs in India, would comprehensively guard against all dead locks and contribute towards

the orderly preparation for the final stage of Home Rule. For, the Executive in this country on the one hand and the Representatives of the people on the other will find themselves naturally induced to work harmoniously out of the mere desire for a peaceful and amicable relation between them. And the latter will themselves gain, with the least friction, that salutary experience required for the final step, through their hearty co-operation with the Executive during the period of preparation.

Lastly, the Executive, as it exists now would be enabled to undergo gradual modifications in its constitution and personnel, so as to admit of the advent of complete Home Rule at the time fixed for it by the Statute, unhindered by any of the vestiges of the present bureaucratic machinery.

There is the subject of dealing with the present Executive so as to arrange for its complete disappearance when the time for Home Rule as laid down by the Statute is to begin with an Executive more natural to it. The questions under this head necessarily concern details only. If the Elected Body on the one hand and the existing Executive on the other feel, as they should, that it is inevitable for both to prepare for the advent of full Home Rule, the problem of transformation could be quite happily accomplished. In regard to all, excepting the members of the Executive Council, the

changes and modifications should be carried out from time to time without too much acceleration or too long delay so that, when the full Home Rule Era begins, there will be no vestige left of the present Public Services, the one source of all the troubles and difficulties that beset India's progress. The instinct of preservation of what thus blocks progress is so peculiar as to make it impossible of being disintegrated, save by relentless work of the Elected Councillors as a body, carrying it out with the utmost discretion, skill and patience throughout. Though, unfortunately, it is not within the power of the British Nation which has created this Leviathan, yet surely it is given to that Nation to endow the Indian people with the potency that will enable them to free themselves from the shackles of the thraldom consequent thereof. There is now an excellent opportunity for the great Nation so to act. It is to be most earnestly wished that this opportunity will not be allowed to slip away but wisely used so as to redound to its undying credit in the pages of future history and for ages to come.

Lastly, a few observations are necessary with reference to the position now occupied by the Head of the Government of India. For the future better government of India, the Governor-General hereafter should be the Head of the Government of India and nothing more. Only then can he, even during the tentative period, justly and rightly carry

on the administration of the country. The existence of a relation in the light of an agent on the part of the Head of the Government here, with reference to the Secretary of State, would be utterly incompatible with the due discharge by the former of his great trust, in perfect fairness, to the interests of the Indian people. Nor will there be any possible scope for the application of the theory of an agency on the part of the Governor-General with reference to the Secretary of State under the altered circumstances. The latter's position will necessarily undergo radical changes, placing him on exactly the same footing as the other Secretaries of State and with no Council to struggle with or to succumb to.

As regards the Viceroyalty, the holder of this office should be a Prince of the Royal family, whenever such appointment and delegation are possible; some one else taking the place only under other circumstances as an exception to the rule. The Viceroy should have no connection with any functions connected with the Government of India vested in the Governor-General. Such a change will be beneficial in more ways than one. For example, only a member of the Royal family who is also the occupant of the Viceregal Throne would be the most appropriate President of the Imperial Council of the Ruling Princess and Chiefs of India, if one is constituted. In connection with this

subject, it is indispensable, in order to avoid much confusion of thought, to bear in mind that, so far as the feudatory States are concerned though geographically within the limits of India yet they are for purpose of Government and administration independent political units and foreign States no doubt subject to the suzerainty of Briton. In other words, they are territories the relation between which and British India is quasi-international in the absence of a better expression. If I may venture to say so nothing would be much more right and nothing more agreeable to these Princes and Chiefs than the establishment of a Council exclusively their own. From the moment such a notable institution comes into existence, the relations between the ruling Chiefs and the Government of India would undergo a change which cannot but be most acceptable to them and equally advantageous to the territories under the direct control of His Majesty the King-Emperor. The Princes and Chiefs will then be lifted up to the honourable and legitimate status of feudatory allies of His Majesty and not insensibly drawn down, as is now the tendency, to the mere position of Indian subjects, of the stamp of great landholders who are ever hungering for the titles of Rajahs, Maharajahs and the like, with strange and newly arising aspirations to be endowed with ruling power—survivals of wreckages of past political conditions unfortunately

left with no other scope than that of exploiting the tenantry on their estates and unsaddled with any responsibility to be discharged to anyone but themselves. It is not out of place to point out that in the possession of Feudatory Chiefs and Ruling Princes demanding as a matter of both principle and policy the presence of a Prince of Royal blood as the most appropriate representative of the Crown, India stands on a footing which distinguishes it from any of the Self-Governing dominions with their yesterday's history and devoid of nobility of any sort in them, not to speak of Magnates exercising true Royal authority on any of the scales small or great so noticeable in India. The real importance of this distinguishing feature cannot but strike one if he realises that, when the fire of love and devotion to India as their own country burns brighter among the feudatory allies and links them together by way of a moral force, it will enable them to exert an unbounded influence over the future destiny of their dear country. That such a force will continue to grow day by day among them must be clear, if it is remembered that these Ruling Chiefs and Princes are now meeting together in the Imperial Capital, not only to make new friends and learn from each other, but also to arrange for the advancement of their great interests and those of their vast subject populations, under the noble auspices of *Pax Britannica*, with the result that, in due course, these

feudatory allies of His Majesty will form in their united character an asset of incalculable value to the Empire, hardly recognised as yet even by thoughtful students of Indian conditions. In these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that the Round Table politicians now amusing themselves with preparing toy constitutions for India know little or nothing of it in relation to these hundreds of His Majesty's Feudatory allies. Have they ever thought of the utility of an Imperial League of such allies, formed with the consent and authority of the Sovereign himself and maintained in a high state of efficiency with all it implies, including a fine powerful *militia* entirely indigenous contributed to by the members of the League according to their rank and position? Do they realise what a tower of strength such a League would prove to the Empire itself and even in a measure as a guarantee to the peace of the whole world? With deference I think, they know little of such possibilities. Leaving them to their toy constitutions we, humble subjects of his Majesty, loyal to the core, can do no better than address to that Cabinet which, with prophetic insight and wise courage, have decided to give India Self-Government as the goal, the following prayer: To the policy of trust in the Indian people recently announced, add a policy of equal trust in the Indian Potentates and one of dignity befitting their ruling

status; rally them round the August Throne, in a manner hitherto unknown and not even thought of, by knitting them together with a Scion of the Royal Family as Viceroy in their midst and the centre of their common tie, and by such genuine and worthy statecraft hasten the day when India will take its place of equality among the Self-Governing Dominions, all well governed, that will constitute the Federation in the Empire on which not only the Sun never sets but also Peace, Prosperity and Plenty will reign for ever.

IV

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

In availing myself of the opportunity so graciously afforded for submitting my views on the subject of constitutional reforms, I think it my duty to offer a few observations on what is called "*Communal Representation*" which bulks so largely in the present discussions on reforms. I would not have ventured to take up any time with reference to this question but for the serious harm which, in my humble judgment, would accrue if the idea underlying the term finds acceptance to any extent whatsoever in the scheme of reform that may be sanctioned.

The term, in question, is, I believe, of a very recent origin dating back only from the instruction issued by the Government of India to the Provincial Governments *anent* the introduction of the Minto-Morley changes in reference to the Legislative Councils. The suggestion about it originated with the former, but received no countenance from anywhere else. Nevertheless the Government of India gave effect to their own suggestion in accordance with the policy which then found favour with them, and, applied it in the case of the Muhammadan section of His

Majesty's Indian subjects. As I have already observed, no one else throughout the country wanted or liked it. Nay, confining myself to this Presidency, everybody here opposed it including the three notable persons now so loudly asking for it, namely, the Rajah of Kuruppam, the Raja of Collengode and Mr. Ramarayaningar Garu, all of whom strongly protested against the introduction of such an invidious principle with reference to political suffrage. Since then, the unfortunate example set by the Supreme Government with reference to the Muslims has taken such hold of the public mind in this country as to completely upset it and create a craze almost on every side and with everybody in favour of such representation and even to claim it as a matter of simple justice. It is time that this mistaken attitude on the part of all bound to help the authorities in arriving at a sound and practical solution of the difficult subject of reform be checked, and it is because I feel I ought so far as it in me lies humbly to contribute towards the dispelling of the serious misapprehensions that prevail, I beg to submit this supplementary memorandum dealing with the question. In doing so, I venture respectfully to invite special attention to the exhaustive treatment which the subject has received at the hands of the author of a learned treatise to be published by Macmillan & Co., in February next, under the title of *The Future Government of India.* In the

course of his interesting Preface to the book, I take the liberty of submitting herewith an advance copy of the Preface. The author's observations, I refer to, will be found at page 7 from para. 2 to the end of page 15. In the course of the full discussion devoted to the matter, the author has so thoroughly and carefully considered all the issues arising and so completely exposed the fallacies involved in the idea of communal representation and the mischief likely to flow from allowing it to find any place whatsoever in any scheme of reform as to render all further comment or argument on my part entirely superfluous. The prevalent confusion on the subject will be found really traceable to the confounding of representation of minorities with the so-called representation of communities. Representation of minorities properly such must, of course, involve representation of some definite interests. This was not the case even in regard to the Muslims though perhaps it was sought to be treated as such. In reality, however, it was nothing more or less than a pure case of communal representation in the very broad and hardly justifiable sense of all sections of Muhammadans throughout India being regarded as constituting one minority community.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

[*Under the auspices of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee a Public Meeting was held on 24-4-18 in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, to protest against the proposal for taking steps to cause cessation of all political propaganda in the country, and to point out that India should be given her rights of self-determination before she could give real and effective co-operation in the production of needed resources in man-power and material. Sir S. Subramania Iyer, the Chairman, said in the course of his speech :—*]

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends and Countrymen —I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for your putting me in the chair on this most momentous occasion. It is an honour which, among all honours that I have received, I consider as the greatest. I have been referred to by Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar as a leader. I am a humble follower of those who are entitled to lead. My only qualification for my being here is that I have been a devout follower, never doubting for one moment what my duty is. I know who the leaders are.

The object of the meeting is to give expression to our attitude and opinion with reference to the present political situation and as part of that work to give our opinion upon the propositions which two of the most important political bodies in our midst have arrived at and adopted after a most careful consideration and the fullest possible discussion. There are at least six propositions to be moved and, allowing only a mover and a seconder for each proposition, the time taken up will be very great. I shall therefore not attempt to detain you with any long speech of mine. But there is just one point which strikes me and which I wish to put in a very few words. We have been constantly told that we are bargaining at a time when bargains ought never to be thought of and that we are doing something extremely improper. We are demanding our just rights for Home Rule before we are called upon to render that duty which certainly is due from us to the Empire. To my mind the bargaining is not on our part so much as on the part of our rulers. One cannot help recalling to mind Napolean's saying that Englanders were a nation of shopkeepers. I believe that on no occasion has that disposition been shown more markedly than on the present occasion. The people concerned have shown all the qualities of an ordinary shopkeeper who puts forward an article as if it is of very great value, praises its virtues and persuades

you to accept it though of course in his own mind he knew what he was going to put forward. The Premier in August last year, announced that responsible Government was the ultimate aim of the British people with reference to India. Of course, it was accepted. We received it with a candour, humility and genuineness which belong to the Indian people. The next step which was intended equally to confirm that impression, but really a pretention as I should call it, was, that the Secretary of State was sent out here to investigate the matter, and not to trust the man on the spot, as was the case with his predecessor, and to form a conclusion upon the whole evidence collected by himself on the spot. He came here under circumstances which raised great expectations, but, very shortly afterwards we began to doubt that very little would really come out of it. There has been subsequently a meeting of the satraps, which was an incubation of the measure which was going to be brought forward. We expected that Mr. Montagu would, after making enquiries, carry his resolution back to his country, and place it before the English public for their consideration. But what is the result? Nothing of the kind takes place. We are told and it was perhaps the result of Mr. Montagu's efforts that we have no business to think about the reform or discuss about

it. The English people will not allow us to go to England and make representations to them. They want a calm atmosphere when Mr. Montagu returns there, and if we want to get anything at all, we must shut up our mouths. We are told that if we should carry on our political agitation, we shall be undeserving of their generosity and we shall get nothing. My own feeling is : it is far better to get nothing than to get anything which is unworthy from them. The moment you get something unworthy of the Indian people that moment you degrade yourselves. What you are entitled to you must insist upon getting. If you cannot get it, you will continue to be slaves which they wish to make us. We shall not demand anything less than what the nation has put forward through its recognised representatives, the Congress and the Muslim-League. One thing I want you to do with people who are dealing with you constantly and wishing you to believe that the article they wish to thrust upon you is the best article, is to behave very carefully in accepting it. Don't allow yourselves to be tempted with the possibility of our having to continue under the bureaucracy further for any time. It is far better, to my mind, to be under the pressure, because it will appeal to the moral nature of the people, than to accept anything unworthy of us. You should not accept any little thing under the temptation of getting more and more

from the hands of the bureaucracy. It is impossible at present to say what the scheme is going to be. As Sir Philp Hutchison said, the moment you allow anything to escape, however confidential it may be, it is sure to come out. Though Mr. Montagu's scheme is kept confidential, so far as I am able to gather, it will not be even eight annas in the rupee. As Mr. Tilak said the other day, some people are under the impression that we will get four annas in the rupee, and others think that we will get 8 annas in the rupee. I think you will get nothing but cypher which will not be worth having. Until you get control over the finance you have no hope and that is not going to be given you. The particular character of the present bureaucracy is that of a shopkeeper who is trying to sell you an article which you ought not to buy, and which they want you to accept. If you reject it *in toto* there will be a change in their attitude, and they will try to increase the measure of reforms a little bit. Of course various measures will be contrived to induce you to accept the article by a little cajoling and by other means. Once you are firm, and you will not accept anything less than the demands contained in the Congress-Moslem League Scheme, you are bound to succeed. Don't be foolish in accepting anything less. The sons of the motherland should give free, independent and fearless expression to their feelings.

INDENTURED LABOUR IN FIJI.

[*Under the auspices of the Anti-Indentured League, Madras, a Meeting was held on 15-2-17, in the Gokhale Hall to protest against the continuance of the system of Indentured Labour in Fiji. Sir S. Subramania Iyer occupied the Chair and spoke as follows* :—]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,— I thank you for the honour you have done me by giving me an opportunity to preside over this important meeting of the citizens of Madras. The occasion is a solemn one. The abject suffering of thousands of our countrymen, the moral degradation which forms the lot of thousands of our countrywomen under a system akin to slavery, is an object of grave concern to us all. The system is not only akin to slavery, but is devoid of its one redeeming feature. The slave's life and limb are objects of some concern to his master, but, alas! under this system of indenture, even that little grace is taken away.

Gentlemen, all of you are aware of the circumstances under which we are met to-day. We meet under the auspices of the newly formed Anti-Indenture League, under the worthy presidency of my

friend, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar. As that body is specially formed for the purpose of agitating against this hateful system of indenture, I will appeal to you to join it, and contribute your little mite, and help us in doing our noble work on behalf of our poor brethren whose suffering is a degradation to them, and whose pitiable condition is a sad reflection on our own status in the British Empire.

It is, gentlemen, very sad for me to contemplate that I, who have, through a long term of years, for dozens and scores of times, manifested my pride in British citizenship, and have gloried in having belonged to the British Empire, should, at this old age, have to come forward to complain and protest against the status assigned to us in the Empire, and utter a word of warning to our rulers for branding my countrymen with the badge of helotry. It was our great patriot, Gopal Krishna. Gokhale, who once said that it was the duty of the Government of India to protect the interests of Indians abroad, to champion their cause, and to speak up for their rights which our beloved Lord Hardinge did so nobly in this very city a few years ago in connection with this very problem. Our present Viceroy, however, is a man of a different mood. His last speech in his Council indicates the direction in which the wind of his views is blowing. It is apparent, gentlemen, that he and his Government would view the present position of indentured

labour in Fiji from the point of view of the planters of that Island, and not from that of the people of India. His Lordship would rather satisfy the planters of Fiji than keep inviolate the promise made by the Government through the lips of Lord Hardinge, in whose footsteps Lord Chelmsford promised to follow. The indentured system is not only unsound economically, but it is a veritable traffic in human souls, and it is heartrending to contemplate that there is a British noble man who is the Viceroy of India, who talks of a different ratio of sex mixture in the exportation of Indian labour. Are our men and women a pack of beasts? Does the moral degradation involved become less degrading because a few more women are allowed to be entrapped in embarking on a vessel destined for a port, whose conditions were only the other day described by our friend, Mr. C. F. Andrews, as a veritable hell? It is an insult to the people of India for our Viceroy to have made that reference about the ratio of men and women. In all conscience the number of women ruined by this pernicious system is a large one; what good will it do to ask the wily recruiter to kidnap a few more and put them on every ship?

It is not a question of the ratio of men and women; it is not a question of rupees, annas and pies; it is a question of moral principles, of

National honour, of Imperial citizenship, of humanitarian rights.

Next, gentlemen, every time we demand Self-Government, we are told that the educated few only clamour for it; that they do so out of selfishness and that they have not at heart the interests of the masses. Here is a question affecting the masses; here is something which the poor, uneducated illiterate men and women suffer from. Who is it, I ask, who champions their cause? Why are educated Indians assembled here? Before me ought to be compassionate officials and wise experts who are supposed to have the welfare of the masses at heart. Where are they gone? What are they doing? Why do they not support the masses in their wretchedness and their misery? No, gentlemen, this love of the masses, which the bureaucracy claims for itself, has proved to be non-existent.

Then, gentlemen we must strongly protest against the view that seems to be gaining hold of the official world. The people of India should not tolerate, they cannot be expected to tolerate their own Government paying more heed to interests of Crown Colonies, at the risk of sacrificing our own interests. Recently the plot of the Round Table Knights was exposed, but, gentlemen, what do we behold here? Mr. Curtis and his friends may try to gain for the Colonies the right of ruling over

India in the future, but here our own Government seems to think that it is their duty and business to consult the Colonies, to guard their interests, to watch for their convenience, and all that in the face of the abject misery and shame which fall to the lot of Indian men and women and children. Are you, gentlemen, going to put up with that? Are you prepared to take, without protest, lying low, this questionable treatment meted out to us? We ask in all solemnity, for whom does the Indian Government exist—is it for the planters of Fiji?

And what have the planters of Fiji done for India all these years? They have made slaves of our Indian brothers; they have lowered and helped to lower the morals of our sisters; they have caused an injury to the growth of our children; they have captured some 45,000 Indians and are keeping them in a condition not far removed from barbarism—without religion, without education, in the midst of serious temptation. They are responsible for 147 suicides for every million among the indentured Indians; for 926 suicides among the indentured labourers every year. They have made butchers of Kabir Panthis, they have turned householders into vagabonds, they have destroyed the sacredness of marriage rites Language fails me, gentlemen, to go on enumerating their sins of commission and omission, and there are other speakers to follow.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, in this meeting assembled, yours is the work to speak in unmistakable language your opinions, to express your feelings however inadequately, for I know you cannot express them fully, to urge on our Government that indentured labour to Fiji should be abolished immediately, to devise ways and means to resist efficiently and continuously, and to save 10,000 of your country people, who, it is proposed, should go to Fiji in the next 5 years. It is not too late. We can yet save the situation. We have degraded ourselves enough; we cannot allow ourselves to be further persuaded to support a wicked cause.

As Indians, we cannot allow the dignity of our manhood, the honour of our womanhood, the innocence of our childhood to be destroyed. As subjects of the King Emperor, as citizens of the British Empire, we cannot any more allow ourselves by our reticence, to be a party to a system of slavery; as humanitarians, we cannot sit quiet when men and women are losing their morals and their very souls—men and women, each one of them with a spark or Ishvara within them, born in the spiritual atmosphere of Indian homes and Indian villages. If a Christian Government will hesitate in doing a Christian deed, you and I, my countrymen, must not fail in playing our part as inheritors of the wisdom and compassion of the mighty Rishis of Aryavarta.

G. K. GOKHALE.

[*A public meeting was held in March 1915, in the open grounds of Victoria Public Hall, Madras to perpetuate the memory of G. K. Gokhale who passed away in Feb. 1915, and Sir S. Subramania Iyer, in expressing his profound sorrow paid the following tribute to that departed patriot:*—]

Mr. Gokhale's name is a household word in the country, and his great work is known even to every schoolboy in the land. In such circumstances I think I shall well discharge my duty, as the mover of this Resolution* by endeavouring to answer to the best of my power a question which must occur to almost everyone present at this great gathering this afternoon. That question is:—What is the most important lesson which Mr. Gokhale's countrymen should draw from his life that has just ended? Now my answer to it is shortly this. There exists a close analogy between the individual life of Mr. Gokhale which has now so nobly ended and the collective life of his countrymen, that is, the Indian people, and therefore they, in fulfilling that collective life, should act precisely as he did in fulfilling his own. There came to the Indian

* Expressing profound sorrow.

people, who till then cared very little about mundane matters, all on a sudden—as in Mr. Gokhale's case—a call from within, a call to high political existence, to national life with self-government in this integral part of the glorious Empire on which the sun never sets. So far I am sure you will agree with me that the similarity between the two cases is fairly exact. Here, however, one has to make a pause, for while Mr. Gokhale's life has reached its fruition, that of his countrymen is but developing, and it will be long before its fruition also is reached. Just at this juncture, a difficulty presents itself, a serious question having been raised as to their real fitness for the arduous career they are supposed to have rashly undertaken. This question comes from no other quarter than those high authorities who have long been in special charge of these people as their local guardians, and so to say their famous medical advisers. And these guardians and advisers have given it as their opinion that their wards are constitutionally totally incapacitated for the career chosen by them, that they possess neither the strength nor the energy necessary for it, owing to the infirmities they are subject to, as incident to their past, their climate and their environment. And under the circumstances, the prolongation of their life, as it is, is entirely dependent upon their continuing to the end under the personal care of their guardians and nurses selected from time to time for them.

Now, what are these wards and patients to do? Are they to accept the advice and continue, as it were, for life as in-patients in the hospital generously provided for them and admirably maintained with all the luxurious appliances which modern science is daily inventing? Or are they to risk that life by rejecting the advice and working strenuously towards the goal on which they have set their hearts, in the hope of enjoying that freer existence which it promises? Now, gentlemen, my answer to this grave question is, as I have said, for the patients to act as Mr. Gokhale did in similar circumstances. In other words, to follow the precautions and prescriptions given from time to time for the relief of the pains and sufferings which must necessarily be experienced in treading the path to the goal, but never to abandon the effort to reach it. For, as in his case, so in theirs, the call is from within, from the spirit, which will brook no opposition, and will overcome all obstacles. Thus, acting unflinchingly, I submit that they will in the end gain their well-merited reward. . . . . .

Education was a subject of absorbing interest to him, and he laboured hard to make the Government take a definite step forward in the direction of free and compulsory education. He succeeded in rousing a remarkable expression of public opinion in the country in favour of the Bill, and though he failed to carry it through in the

Legislative Council, he did not labour in vain. The great increase in expenditure on education in recent years is not a little due to the influence of Mr. Gokhale's fervent appeals. That the much-vexed and long-standing question of the Indian settlers in South Africa was solved in a tolerably satisfactory manner was the result, to a considerable extent, of the tact and statesmanship of Mr. Gokhale, as acknowledged by H. E. the Viceroy. During the dark days of Indian unrest, Mr. Gokhale, as the leader of the Moderate Party, used his best endeavours to rally the people round the Government and, communicating to them his own unfaltering faith in the British rule, to keep them to the path of constitutional agitation. Like his master, the late Mr. Ranade, Mr. Gokhale believed in the promotion of harmonious relations between the Hindus and Mussalmans, and his lecturing tour of 1907 in Northern India has done more than anything else to pave the way for a *rapprochement* between the two great communities.

Not the least remarkable of Mr. Gokhale's constructive efforts is the establishment of the Servants of India Society in 1905, which after passing through a period of suspicion and distrust, has been recognised as an institution which has pinned its faith to the British Government, and is thoroughly loyal in its object and methods. The loss of a man like Mr. Gokhale must be irreparable to the country

at any time. But it is especially so at the present juncture, on the eve of the Report of the Public Services Commission, whose labours have been followed with intense interest, and which had so considerately put off the submission of its Report to enable Mr. Gokhale to take rest and get back to England to discuss the recommendations.

A life like his is full of lessons to all and to every public worker, every citizen. The pains that Mr. Gokhale took to master his subjects, his culture, his wide outlook, his sound judgment, his sweet reasonableness and his spirit of compromise, his avoidance of personal questions, his self-denial, his unwavering determination to do the right, and his tenacity of purpose, are all worthy of the highest imitation. It may not be given to all to possess Mr. Gokhale's abilities or constructive statesmanship, but it is open to everyone to work for the public good in the spirit which animated him and with the high ideals by which he was guided.

It is for the public to decide upon the form of the memorial that is to be raised in his honour. But I may be permitted to express the hope that the feeling of the public may be in favour of a statue in a prominent place like the Presidency College grounds, where it may command the attention of every student and every visitor to Madras and lead them to a study of his noble, selfless and patriotic

life. I hope no narrow utilitarian view will stand in the way of the adoption of such a memorial. I understand that proposals for an additional memorial will also be put forward. It is intended that it should be left entirely to the option of the subscribers to indicate to which of the objects their subscriptions should be devoted. The form of the memorial is, however, in the hands of the Meeting.

MR. & MRS. GANDHI.

[*Under the auspices of The South African League an open air Meeting behind Victoria Public Hall, Madras, was held on 21st April 1915 to welcome Mr. & Mrs. Gandhi. Sir S. Subramania Iyer, who presided on this occasion, spoke, in the course of his remarks, as follows* :—]

During my life of 73 years I have not enjoyed a greater honour than the one done to me in being asked to preside over this meeting. We have assembled on a memorable occasion to welcome and honor one of the greatest sons of India, one who has done more than anybody else to raise the Motherland in the estimation of the whole world, who more than any other living man has saved her from continuity and obtained for her children some amount of consideration and respect. Mr. Gandhi's name is a household word throughout the length and breadth of the country and we also welcome Mrs. Gandhi who has shared with her husband all his troubles and distresses, his sufferings and defeats, and now also his triumph. This she has done so nobly as to bring a great lustre upon Indian womanhood (cheers.)

We are all familiar with the life of Mr. Gandhi and it deserves to be recorded in every vernacular in

chaste and impressive language and distributed broadcast, so that the knowledge thereof may extend to every man, woman and child in this country (Cheers). But the past is simply a preparation for what this great patriot is destined to do in the future (Cheers). He is the incarnation of Soul-Force and combines political sagacity with the keenness of a lawyer and the character of a saint. Even the physical forces of the Empire had to yield before this loftier power. It is in that way, I believe, that Mr. Gandhi would begin, and carry on, his work here.

His present conscientious examination of Indian conditions will then begin his work in right earnest. He will gather around him a few like himself "*Sanyasins*" in the true sense of the term, for the salvation of our countrymen. The work that Mr. Gandhi will do cannot be done by Gandhi's work which will be only that of a politician delivering lectures, nor of a social reformer talking of widow marriages and infant marriages. This will do more than our soldiers in Europe are doing to overcome the strong opposition of the bureaucracy which stands in the way of anything being obtained for the benefit of the country; it will never give way until the " Soul Force " referred to has been so developed as to make it uncomfortable for that bureaucracy to continue its opposition.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

[*A Public Meeting of the citizens of Madras was held on 27th August 1917 in the Victoria Public Hall to express their great sorrow at the irreparable loss the country has sustained in the death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji and to take measures to perpetuate his memory. Sir S. Subramania Iyer, The Grand Old Man of S. India, was voted to the Chair to preside over this solemn occasion and the following is the full text of his speech :—*]

"ROYAL SAGE."

One of the proudest duties I have had to perform in the course of my fairly long life was what devolved on me at the first meeting of the Indian National Congress at its very first session on the 27th of December 1885 in Bombay. That duty was the seconding of the resolution discussed and passed at that memorable meeting regarding the reform of our Legislative Councils. The entrustment of such duty to me on the occasion was of course not in recognition of any personal merit in me but was only by way of compliment to this Presidency, of which I was among the representatives present at the meeting. I had then the good fortune of sitting side by side with the mover and the supporter of the said proposition who were perhaps

among the most notable, if not the most notable, of the Indian leaders of the day. The mover was that versatile genius Kashinath Trimbak Telang, who commanded the highest admiration at the hands of all who had the privilege of knowing him personally. Added to his brilliance as a lawyer, to his fame as an orientalist and expounder of the philosophy of the Song Celestial, to his eminence as an illuminative interpreter of the Maharashtra Chronicles, his power and skill as a leader in politics made him beloved by all. I am sure the untimely death of this most talented man left a void impossible to fill, as it was felt all over India at the time. Apart from all these public qualities and virtues, his magnetic personality exercised the deepest influence upon everyone that came in contact with him even for a day. Short as my acquaintance with him was I can never forget the warm friendship which he extended to me from the very moment. I was introduced to him down to the close of that life. And it is no small happiness that I continue to enjoy that friendship vicariously as it were in the person of the present Editor of "*New India*" whose service to the Motherland is reflecting such credit upon a name which will be historic in the annals of our time.

The supporter of the proposition who followed me was no less an illustrious personage than the great patriot, to do honour to whose memory we

are assembled here this afternoon, Dadhabhai Naoroji, though then in his 60th year seemed to be the very picture of health, with all his beloved Motherland beaming in his face. His alert intellect, his profound knowledge of public questions, his thorough grasp of the needs and wants of the country and of the defects of the administration, his sturdy independence in advocating the cause of his countrymen, made all of them to look upon him as their trusted friend and trusted leader, their guide and philosopher. Much more truly can it be said of our Naoroji, than it was said of the great Mirabean "that a day for this man was more than a week or a month is for others": and the mass of things he guided on together and accomplished for India was indeed prodigious. Engaged in such unceasing activities he had the unique fortune to be gifted with a fairly long and right glorious life, covering as it did the long span which included within itself, as Mr. Ratcliffe felicitously pointed out in the columns of the "Daily News," a period when, "the memories of Warren Hastings were recent (1825) down to the other days, when the departed patriarch was able to give expression to our hope in the new understanding between east and west created by our participation in the terrible war." The story of such an eventful life is so well-known to many a student in the college as to render any detailed reference to the numerous inci-

dents of his life this afternoon by me a work of supererogation. I shall content myself with just alluding to two of the greatest services rendered by that patriarch, one in the nineties and the other about a decade ago. As you know it was in 1892 that he was elected as the member for Central Finsbury, which position he continued to hold till 1895. He was then the first Indian that fought his way up to the Mother of Parliaments and thereby planted the seed which ought to blossom forth that full and worthy representation of our Motherland in the Imperial Assembly of the Federated parts of the British Empire—an Assembly destined to come into existence sooner or later. Such entry into Parliament of this "little Parsi" as Mr. Ratcliffe speaks of him, was no ordinary feat. And the position so valiantly won by him for the first time in the history of India's relations with England was the result of efforts which none other previous to his time was able to put forth— efforts which speak eloquently to the perseverance and force of character that persuaded and made it possible for an English country to choose him to represent it in the great House of Commons. The next great service rendered by our hero was in 1906, when the Hotogenarian travelled all the way from Europe to preside at the Congress and delivered the epoch-making message about the Self-Government for the Motherland—a message which was ratified at the

Lucknow Congress of last year and has become the watchword of all India, a veritable beacon for Indian political workers.

Great as the work of such other leaders as Mehta and Gokhale is, I venture to say that it does not eclipse in any way what their predecessor had accomplished in the two instances I have touched upon. And who can doubt his name will ever continue to be cherished with the utmost love and veneration by his countrymen throughout the land irrespective of caste and creed, colour and religion?

Before saying a few words regarding one of the many lessons to be drawn from Dadabhai's life on which I wish to lay emphasis let me ask you to bear with me when I say that I protest against his being spoken of in the way that is now the fashion, by copying with reference to certain words originally applied to one of his great English contemporaries, William Ewart Gladstone. Lest this protest of mine may startle you, I shall proceed to justify it at once. The three words "Grand Old Man" may in the country of their origin have been useful to call up in the minds of the people there, a picture and an emotion worth the conjuring up. Those who were familiar through personal knowledge with that great leader of the Liberal Party of his time may have been able to appreciate the significance of the epithet. It might through association conduct to bring before their mental

vision the striking figure of the man whose eloquence had for many years fascinated them whose powerful voice like thundering Niagara reverberating through the galaries of the House of Commons had held them in awe, and also whose statesmanship had wrought wonders for them. But to us here who had never enjoyed such opportunities of direct experience and knowledge, surely the epithet can convey little. I say without irreverance that the only picture which it could forcibly suggest to my unimaginative mind with reference to the owner of Hawarden Castle is that of a stalwart tree-feller who with an axe in hand was engaged in uprooting some gigantic specimen of forest life. Really there is nothing much ennobling in this. And in my humble judgment the fashion of applying such an epithet to our patriot is but a slavish imitation of what was hardly true of him in more than one way. Indeed our past is not so poverty-stricken as to disable us from finding for our own grand man some better epithet that would mark his work and worth and at the same time point to an ideal full of inspiration to us. Friends better acquainted than myself with the history of that past will be able to suggest more than one such epithet. Subject to criticism which will naturally be made I would offer what on the spur of the moment occurs to me, and say Naoroji, the "Royal Sage" instead of the "grand old man." The

singular purity of his long life would amply warrant the term, sage, and you know since the removal of his residence to Versova, he was known as the sage of that place. The devotion of half of the sage's long life to the political uplift of the land of his birth, coupled with the position he secured for it in the Imperial Assembly as member for Finsbury and his Presidential Address at the most important session of the Indian National Congress, that of 1906, should fully justify the term "Royal" in the epithet I have ventured to suggest for him. And the two together would call up the memory of the great Janaka, the Ruler, in whose Court Yajnavalkya, and Gargi and other mighty ancients held debate on the problems of life and death, of Brahman, the higher and the lower.

Again the epithet "our modern Bishma" would not be an inappropriate one for the great man. No doubt he never aimed an arrow at any one, nor on the contrary did he practise tree-felling as England "grand old man" did. But for all that the deadly thrusts which Naoroji again and again made into the bundles of official fallacies and the bureaucratic fictions of India's wonderful prosperity and ever-increasing wealth under its regime constitute their author a doughty champion on the arena of Indian politics entitled to be spoken of as a "Bishma" on his own line possessing as he did an immense store of political wisdom sedulously gathered during

an unusually long life of varied experience and intense devotion to duty.

Now that our minds are full of Swadeshism let it not be confined to mere things with which we seek to cover our bodies and the like, but let it extend to and include our whole nature. Let us be Swedeshi in thought, word and deed, and in soul, mind and action. Otherwise verily in our attempt to copy western manners and habits we shall soon abandon even the practice of following the advice of our Rishis founded on excellent grounds, and naming our boys Ramachandra and Krishna, our girls Lakshmi, Saraswathi and Savitri and proceed to call the former "Wood" and "Stone" and the latter " Poss " and " Pans." Let us arrest denationalisation taking all the time care to profit by our contract with the West where we can, without detriment to our own spiritual life. So much for my protest which I am sure you will treat with indulgence. Now in conclusion to the one lesson to be drawn from our hero's life specially important and to be borne in our mind at the present critical juncture, it is, in a few words, this : Those amongst us who feel disposed to devote themselves to the sacred duty of serving the Motherland unflinchingly must be as weather proof as he was utterly against all the tempests of abuse, sarcasm and calumny to which he was exposed not only at the hands of Anglo-India, but also at those

of high Britishers. It is all very well when our patriot was gone and thus out of the way that panegyrics upon him were pronounced by no less a person than the Governor of his Presidency. But let us not forget what Lord Salisbury, who was once Secretary of State for India, and late the Prime Minister of England for many years, said of him when he was alive and fighting pertinaciously for us. His Lordship scornfully spoke of him as a "black man." This insulting epithet was in every sense abused. For, in the words of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji "snow white hair and beard adorned a face that was florid almost beyond that of the most roseate member of the country party." This comparison apart, Naoroji's complexion was of that Kashmerian tint, which probably in the sole surviving type of the old Aryan purity of colour. Needless to say the contempt for and hatred to every Indian which his Lordship's malicious description emphatically implied are ten times stronger now than they were when he gave vent to his feelings by such an ill-chosen phrase. No wonder then that the white lady of world-wide fame who is now interned underwent in the opinion of the majority of the people of her own race a metamorphosis the moment she adopted this country as her home and made our national cause hers. In short, she became a black woman fit only to be incarcerated and doomed to a lingering and ignominous death, instead

of devoting her talent towards the noble vocation of Empire-building by means absolutely bloodless and entirely peaceful, and on the heavenly basis of the brotherhood of nations and the equality of religions and creeds as I have humbly endeavoured to show, in an article* that will appear in an English journal on her next birth-day, the 1st of October.

Hush! I hear an invisible voice which interrupts me and says that such will not be the end of that life, which destiny intends to use as an instrument for the accomplishment of things greater, the upliftment of humanity than any that has yet been attempted. Be this as it may, how can we but feel that there can be greater confirmation than the cruel fate that has overtaken this noble martyr for our cause, the confirmation of the note of warning so timely conveyed to us by that wise message which has reached us by the last mail. I mean the warning and the message from the Right Hon'ble Commander Wedgewood, the prominent leader of that gallant band of helpers, a band to whom I make profound obeisances on behalf of all, for extending their protecting arm to us and gathering round our daring standard of India's Home Rule in the Historic Kurukshetra, the British House of Commons, where freedom's battles have been fought again and again and valorously won. For he tells us that as opposers of absolute rule, which we

* *Vide* the next . "Mrs. Annie Besant as an Empire Builder."

verily are, we should be prepared to face all trials difficulties including "loss of employment and promotion, petty persecution, even the loss of fortune and freedom." What are these but trash in relation to the honest discharge of our duty to the Motherland? All the more so, now that real breaches in the ramparts of repression and autocracy seem possible and the dawn of a new day appears to be not far off. We may not achieve success in our own time, but, as the gallant Commander points out, "We can hand on the torch burning brightly," to our successors. Remember also the profound truth conveyed in his words "there is no real end"—words that reaffirm the still more meaningful teaching of our mighty Rishis. Samya Moksha is the highest which means that ever progressive approximation to the divine condition is what the Eternal Law has decreed to Man. Also that supreme command of the Shri Krishna: performance of duty and service alone is our concern, fruition being in hands infinitely wiser than ours. Bearing all this in mind I beseech ye, who are in the felicitous words of the same gallant friend, "newest soldiers in the old fight," march on with unfaltering steps towards the goal full of courage and full of faith, full of hope, ardour and good cheer.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

AS AN EMPIRE BUILDER.

The Empires which have hitherto been built in the world have been built either by military commanders or by statesmen. Caesar built a Roman Empire, but the power of sword was necessary for building. So too was it with Napoleon; and later still, when the German Empire was built by Bismark. The second method of Empire building by statesmen is illustrated in the United States of America. Lincoln welded all the States into one by his statesmanship, but his policy had to be carried out by the sword, though that sword was not drawn for conquest but for the defence of human rights. Both these modes of Empire-building have been tried and have had their day; they involve warfare and bloodshed.

The time has now come when Empire building must have a different basis. Future Empires, if they are to persist, must have three principles underlying their structure.

1. They must be founded on the full recognition of the Brotherhood of all the individuals composing the Empire.

2. This necessitates that love and sympathy shall be the principal characteristics in its administration.

3. There must be a spirit of universal religion which makes impossible religious antagonisms.

The Empire-builder of to-day must have qualities vastly different from previous builders and statesmen, if to-day he is to carry out the plan of the Supreme. That means building with the power of religion and without the power of the sword. In India, in four periods of its history, religion as a unifying influence has been used by great Kings. There was King Harsha in the 7th century who, by his perfect patronage of both Hinduism and Buddhism, built for a time an Empire in India. There was later the Moghul Emperor Akbar who united Hindus and Muhammadans under one rule by his perfect sympathy to both. Later still, the Vijayanagar Kings enlisted the help of the great saint Madhavacharya to bring into one kingdom several religious communities. Lastly Guru Nanak through the power of religion made one body of his pupils or Sikhs, who later became a military power. But all these rulers, nevertheless, were fighters and the sword made up for the deficiencies of spiritual persuasion.

The new type of Empire building, which the world now requires, is most strikingly exemplified by Mrs. Besant and the type is seen in her work for India. Her work will best be understood by those who realise the unusual task involved in building India to be a vital part of the British

Empire. Here in this land we have many languages and many forms of religion, which separate the peoples into many communities. Now all these must be welded into one whole and unless that work is done here, the British Empire is bound to fall, for without India there is nothing in the British Empire, but a name ; and if the British Empire does not perform the high role before it, the future of the world will be seriously handicapped for ages. Therefore, Brotherhood as an essential principle in Empire-building in India is imperative. The Hindus must be united with Muhammadans, and the Jains and Buddhists. Though there is perfect toleration among themselves, there will have to be a sense of unity among them and active co-operation.

Now India is not a *tabula rasa*; the Empire builder is not dealing with primitive peoples with no traditions or culture. India is a land of many communities who cherish a hoary civilisation. They have their own religions, sciences, arts and literatures. Therefore, the Empire-builder cannot do his work with the sword, but must appeal to reason and spirituality, in order to suit the new conditions of building. Who can accomplish this task except a soul of the type of Mrs. Besant? The required elements of love and sympathy can only be provided by one of her sex ; no man, however great could show these qualities as finely as a woman.

That is why the ego we know as Mrs. Besant has been put into a woman's body to do her work in India. She has, however, at the same time, an iron will which supplies the elements of the male sex. It is this will that was made manifest recently in her refusal to concede, by way of compromise, any deviation in the matter of principle, even for the sake of obtaining her liberty and escaping from persecution that was likely to endanger her life, thus revealing the trait of the martyr.

Mrs. Besant's whole life is so spiritual that, as an Empire-builder, she is not aiming at a political institution, but a spiritual organisation. The especial characteristic mark of that organisation may be said to be Aryan; for Mrs. Besant represents the Indo-Aryan type in perfection. She has in her nature all its elements; when lecturing in Christian countries she is recognised as an exponent of Christianity, in India we recognise her as an authority on our religion; and it is the same, when she lectures to Buddhist or Muhammadan audiences. Mrs. Besant has the power of combining the various elements of Indo-Aryan culture and producing from them a beautiful mosaic.

This is important, for if an Empire is to be built in India it must have this character of a mosaic, and unless the builder is himself of this nature of a mosaic, the work cannot be done. Undoubtedly, Mrs. Besant stands in a peculiar

relation to the peoples of India. She has repeatedly stated her own belief that in her previous lives she has again and again been born in India and that her present Western birth is only for the purpose of supplementing her Indian character with something of the Western, in order that she might do better her work of organisation for India. One proof at least of this claim may be held to be what is now taking place in India. There is no instance of a single Western person, except herself, who has called forth, as during the last few weeks, such universal love and sympathy from every part of India. The educated and the uneducated, the English-speaking and those who know not a word of English have all united in one profound admiration and reverence, and many are the prayers that go up from temple and shrine on her behalf to-day.

It is interesting to note how Mrs. Besant began her work of Empire-building. When she came to India, she did not at once work in the political field. She expounded one religion after another, emphasising the common unity of faith and aspiration. In India, where religion may degenerate into fanaticism with its concomitant of bloodshed, Mrs. Besant's first work was to make fanaticism impossible, and to-day, the whole attitude of Hindus to Muhammadans and *vice versa* has changed, so far as religion is concerned. Her next work was to put education upon a religious basis. A lasting monument to her

educational work is the Hindu University, which she organised as the Central Hindu College of Benares.

A most memorable event at the College was the visit to it of Their Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, when they visited India as the Prince and Princess of Wales. Mrs. Besant, as the President of the Board of Trustees of the College, received Their Majesties and after the Prince of Wales was crowned King, and visited India again. His Majesty sent to the college, through Mrs. Besant, signed portraits of himself and the Queen. The Central Hindu College, under Mr. Besant's guidance, was the first large institution definitely to embody the teaching of religion as part of its curriculam. The impulse she gave has influenced hundreds of schools to make religious teaching and worship an integral part of education. And to crown all her labours, she has just organised the National Board of Education, comprising many of the leading men in India, to put education on a thoroughly national basis.

The next unique thing that Mrs. Besant has done is to bring together the Hindus and the Muhammadans as brothers in one common National work. This is a miracle, the significance of which only those living in India can understand; and though many have helped in this union, she stands supremely as the worker of the great miracle. No less marvellous is the fact that this stupendous work as been achieved in the course of three years, since

she took up political work. There are few Empire builders who can show such a record of work in so brief a time. Not less noteworthy is her bringing together once again into a common political body the "Extremists" and the "Moderate" of the Indian National Congress. Many had prophesied that these two bodies would never unite, but Mrs. Besant has done it. Mrs. Besant has brought about union because of the force of the ideals which she has lived in her own life. One of the prominent Muhammadan leaders, the Hon. Mr. Syed Wazir Hassan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, referred the other day in a public meeting "to the spiritual side of her life, and how ennobling from that point of view her influence has been." "I look upon Mrs. Annie Besant" he said, as an embodiment and external symbol of what is my ideal of existence. Life is not worth living without such ideals, and we should resist with all our power attacks threatening the fulfilment of our hopes and the attainment of our ideals".

What is Mrs. Besant's ideal of an Empire? Here are her words, written in November 1914, when, four months after the War began, she proclaimed the real spiritual conflict of ideals underlying the struggle.

"Of the two possible World-Empires, that of Great Britain and that of Germany, one is already far advanced in the making and shows its quality,

with Dominions and Colonies, with India at its side. The other is but in embryo, but can be judged by its theories, with the small examples available as to the fashion of their out-working in the new Colonies that it is founding, the outlinings of the unborn embryo. The first embodies—though as yet but partially realised—the ideal of Freedom; of ever increasing Self-Government; of peoples rising into power and self-development along their own lines; of a Supreme Government "broad based upon the People's will"; of fair and just treatment of undeveloped races, aiding not enslaving them; it embodies the embryo of the splendid Democracy of the Future; of the New Civilisation, co-operative, peaceful, progressive, artistic, just, and free—a Brotherhood of Nations, whether the Nations be inside or outside the World-Empire. This is the ideal; and that Great Britain has set her foot in the path which leads to it is proved not only by her past interior history with its struggles towards Liberty, but also by her granting of autonomy to her Colonies, her formation of the beginnings of Self-Government in India, her constantly improving attitude towards the undeveloped races—as in using the Salvation Army to civilise the criminal tribes in India—all promising advances towards the Ideal. Moreover, she has ever sheltered the oppressed exiles, flying to her shores for refuge against their tyrants—the names of Kossuth, Mazzini, Kropetkin

shine out gloriously as witnesses in her favour; she has fought against the slave-trade and well nigh abolished it. And at the present moment she is fighting in defence of keeping faith with those too small to exact it; in defence of Treaty obligations and the sanctity of a Nation's pledged word; in defence of National Honour, of Justice to the weak, of that Law, obedience to which by the strong States is the only guarantee of future Peace, the only safeguard of Society against the tyranny of brute Strength. For all this England is fighting, when she might have stood aside, selfish and at ease, watching her neighbours tearing each other into pieces, waiting until their exhaustion made it possible for her to impose her will. Instead of thus remaining, she has sprung forward, knight errant of Liberty, servant of Duty. With possible danger of Civil War behind her, with supposed possible revolt in South Africa and India, with shameful bribes offered for her standing aside, she spurned all lower reasonings, and, springing to her feet, sent out a lion's roar of defiance to the breakers of treaties, uttered a ringing shout for help to her peoples, flung her little army to the front—a veritable David against Goliath—to gain time, time, that the hosts might gather, to hold the enemy back at all costs, let die who might of her children; called for men to her standard men from the nobles, from the professions, from the trades, men from the

plough, from the forge, from the mine, from the furnace; and this not for gain—she has naught to gain from the War—but because she loved Liberty, Honour, Justice, Law, better than life or treasure, that she counted glorious Death a thousandfold more desirable than shameful existence bought by cowardly ease. For this, the Nations bless her; for this, her dying sons adore her; for this, History shall applaud her; for this, shall the World. Empire be hers with the consent of all Free Peoples, and she shall be the Protector, not the Tyrant of Humanity."

All through Mrs. Besant's work in India she has continually emphasised the inseparable bond between India and England. Indeed, her insistence upon this essential element of the future of India has made her to be sharply criticised by those in India who have not believed as firmly in the ideals of the British Empire as she has done. It is just because she has this ideal conception of the British Empire that she has been so anxious to emphasise the unique nationality and worth of the Indian peoples to the British Empire. It is this that has made her preach Home Rule against the wish of ninety-nine per cent. of her race in India. The sincerity of her purpose could not be evinced better than by her unflagging work for uplifting the peoples of India in spite of every misrepresentation and even villification.

One noteworthy characteristic of her political work is constitutionalism. Never for a moment has she hesitated to denounce violence in every form. Indeed, she herself in her attempts to persuade anarchists and revolutionaries has been misunderstood, and has caused herself to come under the unwelcome supervision of the Criminal Investigation Department. Whenever possible, she has seen high officials in authority in order to explain to them the principles underlying her work. She has personally explained her work to the Governors of Bengal and Madras. She has not been merely critical, she has actually shown the methods of construction. The "Madras Parliament" which she organised for training in Parliamentary method and debate has to its credit up to the present a number of carefully worked out Acts during 1915 and 1916, of which the principal ones are "Compulsory Elementary Education", "Madras Panchayats" (Village Tribunals for the re-institution of local self-government) "Commonwealth of India Act" (for National self-government within the Empire), a supplementary Act to the foregoing "relating to the Indian Judicature," and the "Religious Education Act". Not long ago, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the then Secretary of State for India, described her methods of political work as "dangerous". It may be pointed out that in the opinion of the Indian leaders of thought the danger

of her method was not to the Empire, but to those vested interests which themselves constitute the real danger to the Empire.

Mrs. Besant is a profound mystic and when after twenty-one years of strenuous life in India she entered into the political field, it was as a practical mystic of a unique type. Oliver Cromwell was a practical mystic, but he nevertheless believed in the power of the sword and told his soldiers, "Trust in God, but keep your powder dry." But Mrs. Besant is unique in that she only uses peaceful persuasion; she achieves her work by calling forth the powers of faith within men. It was well said by Sir Arthur Lawley, when he was Governor of Madras. "Her voice is never raised save to move her hearers to some nobler impulse, to some loftier ideal, to some higher plane of thought."

Though for the moment Mrs. Besant's work has been utterly misunderstood by the Government of India, the peoples of India understand her and day after day the volume of devotion to her steadily grows. I doubt not also that soon there will come from the rest of the British Empire the recognition due to her as one of the Empire's great builders.—*New India, 1st October, 1917.*

LOKAMANYA-TILAK.

[*A magnificent Meeting was held on the 31st March 1918, in the Grounds of "Gauri Vilas," Madras to welcome and honor Lok-Tilak and his party on their way to England,* via., *Colombo, (subsequently stopped from proceeding by the British War Cabinet) to lay India's claims before the British Democracy. Some 20,000 of various castes and communities assembled with one mind and Sir S. Subramania Iyer, honored Lok-Tilak, who headed the Home Rule Deputation, in the following words :—*

The people of our Presidency are enjoying a very great privilege in being able to welcome at our capital the patriotic friends who have so nobly and readily come forward to go forth and represent India before British public at this great juncture in our National affairs It is indeed an unexpected privilege and therefore all the more prized by us. *In limini*, it is my duty to offer on behalf of the several political bodies, who are seeking at this meeting to do honour to our worthy delegates, the thanks due for thus affording us the opportunity of formally expressing our high sense of and deep obligation to them for the invaluable service which

they are about so opportunely to render to the Motherland in the discharge of their self-imposed mission. To be sure, India could not send out for the purpose, which the mission is charged to carry out, more capable and more true representatives than the members of the Deputation now to our utmost gratification, in our midst. It would be inadmissible on an occasion like this to dwell upon the high qualifications which each and every one of our delegates brings to the discharge of the great task undertaken by them. Nevertheless, I am sure I shall be forgiven when I say that the delegates as a body could not possibly go forth under better leadership than that of the greatest of living Indians Lokamanya Tilak, whose very name is such as to inspire the dullest and the most *tamasic* of his countrymen with warm sentiments of genuine patriotism and self-sacrifice in the interests of Bharatavarsha. It would hardly be possible for me to find words that would adequately convey our appreciation of the stupendous work to the performance of which Mr. Tilak has devoted his time and money, his most rare talents, nay, dedicated his whole life, with a perseverance and invincibleness altogether unparalleled in the history of the political activities of recent generations. It should be further remembered that this work has been vigorously and unflinchingly carried on in spite of his detractors, influential as they

were, who though desirous of advancing the political interests of the country did not possess that wide vision and clear insight which have been Mr. Tilak's characteristics all through. It is simple justice to Mr. Tilak to add that he was the first fearlessly to demand Home Rule for India and to labour hard in furthering the cause and the credit due to him on this account is above what can be claimed for on behalf of every other worker in the field including the President of the last Congress who guided its deliberations with a power, tact and wisdom peculiarly hers. Great as has been Mr. Tilak's suffering, sacrifice and loss in thus tirelessly working for Mother India, it cannot but be a source of real satisfaction to him actually to see the beginings of the fruition of his undaunted devotion to the land of his birth. It is scarcely necessary to say that the visit of the Secretary of State marks that beginning. It is undeniable that the labours of Mr. Tilak and his faithful adherents in Maharashtra have in no small measure contributed to the visit of a member of the Cabinet of the standing ability and character of the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu. One tangible advantage ascribable to the presence of that Minister in the country is the sending of our representatives on deputation to England with Mr. Tilak at its head. For his fame is such as to command attention and certainly will be productive of the best results. Many are the points

on which I should have liked to dwell at this meeting did time and circumtances permit. I must however content myself with detaining you only for a few minutes with reference to what strikes me as the most suggestive inference to be drawn from Mr. Tilak's recent tour in his Presidency with a view to obtain funds for the purposes of the deputation. The success which attended this tour affords incontrovertible proof of the crucial fact that the demand for Home Rule is not a preposterous claim by the so-called educated clique but the irresistible demand of the masses themselves. Now let us remember that the purses presented to their beloved leader during the tour were made up of small amounts voluntarily contributed by the very humblest, the collections themselves being made at the very shortest notice. Among them were those of the 16,000 mill hands of the City of Bombay whose anna collections amounted to the comparatively large sum of Rs. 1000. Surely this ought to suffice to rebut the false cry of the bureaucrats and Anglo-Indians about the alleged attitude of the dumb millions in what is so vital to their own interests. I would only add that every pie that went to make up the purse was verily the offering and the accompaniment of the prayers to God from the thousands and thousands of the donors that their Motherland may come soon to enjoy the birthright of Self-Govern-

ment as a part of the Empire. It follows from this that the delegates will stand before the British public supported by the spirtual force of those countless prayers which can not and will not go in vain.

Be this as it may, we must not overlook the fact that there should be no slackening whatsoever in our efforts to gain our birthright of equality with the self-governing dominions in the Empire. Let us be full of hope that those efforts are bound to be crowned with success in the long run. What else can be our attitude when men like not only Mr. Tilak but also Mr. M. K. Gandhi, whose utterly selfless career since his return from Africa is shedding lustre on the Motherland, are among our guides. Just think of the mighty change wrought in Ahmedabad in a single day through Gandhi's intercession by the resolves he made and the happy consequences, then as ever possible only in spiritual India. What he accomplished in the indigo districts in Behar and still more what is taking place at this moment in the agricultural district of Kaira in Gujerat show that he should for ever be known as the implacable foe of high-handedness and the immortal and intrepid defender of the weak and the oppressed. Who can fail to see the mighty soul-force that is now at the service of the Motherland in him and in those whom he is educating in the practice of the virtue of what he himself

felicitously calls " Satyagraha", a virtue which the bureaucrat ought to take note of and ponder over. I therefore make no extravagant request if I ask my young friends to be up and doing under such powerful guidance. The part taken by these younger politicians at the meetings held within the past few days with reference to the matters connected with the newly started Civil Rights Committee affords ample proof of their readiness to their duty to the country. And I trust I may be permitted to urge upon them the necessity for vigorous agitation against the policy of repression which the Committee is pledged to see abolished. In my humble judgment even those questions of political reform, which are now occupying the attention of the Secretary of State, yield in importance to the relief which the abovementioned Committee wishes to obtain. For no man in his senses can consent to give credit to the *bona-fides* of an Executive which allows itself to be blindly led by the Police and will deport or intern subjects of His Majesty denying them all opportunity of establishing their innocence before a judicial tribunal. So long as such methods continue to be used and offorts for obtaining further repressive legislation are being made it is simply futile to believe in the existence in India of that legitimate civic freedom which is the foundation of all political freedom. I hope that the agitation we have begun in the matter will not cease until the Imperial

Parliament once for all declares that it shall be impossible for the Government in this country to resort in future to so barbarous a system of procedure utterly out of place under any civilised Government.

In conclusion, I ought to say that our responsibility to our own country at this moment is most peculiar and special. In a way our fate may be said to depend upon how we are going to receive the Secretary of State's announcements regarding the coming reforms. If you show any disposition to accept anything short of popular control through elected members over the Government of India as satisfactory to us, that would, in my humble opinion, be political suicide. It will be treated as a practical abandonment of the Congress demands and will be the destruction of what has been laboriously accomplished up to the present moment. It is to be devoutly hoped that such a contingency will not happen, and I solemnly charge you to do all in your power to avert such a catastrophe. I ask you never to be tempted with less than what the nation has already demanded so unmistakeably through its accredited representatives firm in the belief that our demands will be complied with as a matter indispensable to the safety of the Empire itself, whose present distraction can only be relieved by the supply of India's man-power which is left unavailed of through a strange blindness on the part

of those guiding English affairs. Furthermore the reception which our delegates will receive in Great Britain will depend upon the support we give to them during their stay there. If they insist upon the principles of the Congress Scheme as being the only ones to be demanded in no uncertain voice and we here change and be guilty of vacillation, the result must inevitably be the failure of their mission. We must guard against such an unhappy result and this can never be too strongly be borne in mind and pressed upon all who fail to see what is the right cause.

Without detaining you further I shall now call upon Mrs. Besant to read the joint address of the political bodies now participating at this meeting.

CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

[*The following is the full text of Address of Sir S. Subramania Iyer at the annual Convocation of the University of Madras, for 1896* :—]

FELLOW GRADUATES:—The task of addressing you and exhorting you to conduct yourselves suitably into the position you have attained by the degrees conferred upon you this afternoon has, by the kindness of our late Chancellor, whom we all miss here to day, devolved upon me, and I need scarcely add that it was with no small pleasure and pride that I accepted the honor and privilege of addressing you on this occasion.

In discharging this important function, my first pleasing duty is to welcome you as members of this University, and to extend to you, on behalf of the Senate, the right hand of fellowship, so that in future we may all feel and act as members of the same body, with the same cause to advocate, the same ends to achieve, the same traditions to keep up, and the same memories to honor and cherish.

My next duty, gentlemen, is to offer you a few words of advice, which, though they seem common place, may, I trust, yet prove of some use to such of you as are young and require experience.

Let me begin with the question of

SELECTION OF A CAREER

which must now necessarily occupy the attention of many of you, and in doing so let me point out to you that though you have been successful thus far (the success which you have attained augurs well for you), you ought not to allow yourselves to be elated by this early success. For, as is wellknown it has often occurred that some who at college were pointed out as the coming men of the generation, have quietly dropped into obscurity, whilst others, less noticed there, have pushed forward in after-life and reached the front. I would, therefore, ask you to remember that early success at college counts for little unless it is followed up vigorously in after-life. You should not suppose that, because you have received a comparatively superior education, you are to be above the ordinary work that comes to you to do. You scarcely require to be told that much of the work to be done in this world is but of a homely and rough character. Consequently a feeling of contempt for any such work is one of the most unfortunate and dangerous frames of mind with which a young man can start in life. No doubt one of the first effects of the present system of education is to produce upon the minds of many of you a strong desire to avoid altogether humble careers involving manual labour or out-door work and an

equally strong desire to enter into the region of purely intellectual and sedentary pursuits. It would seem that this is to a certain extent true even in countries where the

"DIGNITY OF LABOUR"

is far more generally recognised than here. This effect of the present system of education is intensified in India, more than elsewhere, by reason of the circumstance that the members of certain sections of the community have for ages enjoyed immunity from the hard toil to which the members of the other sections of the community cheerfully submit, as also by the circumstance that the bulk of young men who flock to our schools and colleges come from the former class. No wonder, therefore, that many persons who have distinguished themselves at college and obtained degrees, not infrequently think it hard to turn for their livilihood to dull and laborious pursuits in which they might get on as well without their degrees as with them. Yet that a very large percentage of even educated men must of necessity in the not distant future, turn to such pursuits would be obvious to any one who takes note of the ever increasing numbers that go forth from our colleges year after year. Taking the perhaps not long period that has elapsed since the year 1868, when as one of the comparatively few young men admitted to their degrees that year I

myself occupied the position which you occupy to-day, (Applause) we find that things have changed very considerably. The educated man is much a cheaper article in the market now than he was then, or even 20 years later. Though the supply of such men has not yet outrun the demand, it can scarcely be doubted that it will do so at no distant period. And if education continues to develop in the future as it has been developing in the past—there is no reason to believe it would not—the price of intellectual labor—except labor of the highest class—cannot but become cheaper still. I trust, therefore, that none of you will, like men deficient in practical wisdom, go about the world complaining that you can get no work that is fit for you; but that all of you who have to seek an occupation will as men of sense accept whatever honest work you are able to find ready to hand, though such work be not purely intellectual. I do not think it is necessary to recall to your mind that a good many of our great men, who possessed the greatest intellects of their time, did not disdain to earn their livelihood by the toil of their hands. It is enough to remind you of Spinoza, that great thinker who insisted upon supporting himself by grinding glasses in Amsterdam, and of Thiruvalluvar, the author of that marvellous Tamil classic, the Kural, who is believed to have earned his subsistence by laboring at the

loom in the neighbourhood of this very city. It has often occurred to me that it would be a useful innovation to introduce into the educational system of this country the old jewish rule of insisting on every boy under a certain age to do some manual work for a portion of the school time every day in order that he might learn betimes that such

LABOR IS NATURAL, NAY NECESSARY, FOR EVERY MAN

I consider that any one who thinks that any kind of decent labor is beneath his dignity and education, wrongs society and that society as a whole cannot make any material progress if educated men shrink from certain forms of manual work because they fancy it is unsuited to their attainments of their station in life. If those who have received the benefits of liberal education would only take courage and step out of the beaten track of the public service or the usual professions and enter into other equally honorable though more laborious walks of life as yet untrodden by them, I feel sure there will be plenty of good work to do which would prove not only fairly remunerative to those who do it, but also would, in the long run, be beneficial to the community as a whole.

Though I have advised you to take up whatever good work you can find, yet in selecting your calling you should bear in mind one important matter.

Talent is given to each one of you and it is your duty to develop it to the utmost of your power, and your happiness depends, in no small degree, upon your work being done in a congenial sphere. You should, by a careful study of yourselves and the ground upon which you stand, see that the career you adopt is such as to secure to you surroundings conducive to the cultivation of your particular talent and agreeable to your disposition. If you wish to avoid failure and disappointment, try to form for yourselves beforehand a clear and distinct conception of your individual aptitudes and powers that you may properly decide what walk of life would fit your nature best. It is far better to choose an humble occupation in which you are certain of personal satisfaction, than a more remunerative or ambitious employment unsuited to your tastes and faculties.

When thus, after deliberation, you have made the choice of a profession, do not allow yourselves to be influenced by what has been called

"THE GOSPEL OF GETTING ON."

In no calling can anything great be accomplished if your chief aim in the performance of its duties be the material advantanges to be got by such performance, or even the love of fame likely to accrue from it. It was, I believe, the late Lord Derby who observed that, though all of us start in

our careers with the notion of beating our equals in the race, yet most men, who are worth their salt, think as they go on in life less of the return in fame or gratified vanity which their work is likely to bring, or more of doing it as it ought to be done. Let this spirit of the true worker animate you from the outset of your careers.

Success in your profession is not the only END OF EDUCATION.

It has a higher object, that is, to prepare you to lead a worthy life in this world. Whether you shall live such a life depends, to a large extent, upon yourselves. If you ask me what are the most indispensible requisites for such a life, I should certainly say "a good conscience" and "a high character." Now, who does not know that a good conscience is a guide which never deceives, but on all occasions unerringly points out what is right and what is wrong? Depend upon it, gentlemen, there is no lever like that to overcome the difficulties of life, no power greater than the simple, straightforward unselfish energy it gives. As to "high character" in the words of Smiles with whose writings, I believe, most of you are familiar "it is the noblest possession of man constituting a rank in itself and an estate in the general goodwill dignifying every station and exhalting every possession in society. It is like the stock in trade, the more of it a man

possesses the greater the facilities for making additions to it. It is power and it is influence, and opens a sure and easy way to wealth, honor and happiness." That is why Emerson called men of character as the "Conscience of the Society to which they belong." You may take it from me that where character is defective, intellect, no matter how high, fails to regulate rightly, because predominent desires mislead it. Even a distinct foresight of evil consequences will not restrain when strong passions are at work. The great hope of any society and more so of Hindu Society, is individual character and I may add that even public safety and national honor rest upon the force of our character. The difference between one man and another consists not so much in talent, wealth and surroundings as in the character which he possesses.

Whatever profession or calling you may choose, whatever station in life you may occupy, be modest but determined. Measure your own powers carefully and even sternly, but resolve that whatever gift is in you shall, with God's help, be fully and strenuously worked out. Aim high, I would say, but take care that

YOUR AIM IS WORTHY OF YOUR COMPASS

and, come what may, it is pursued by honorable means. Self-control, self-denial—the habit of sacrificing the present to the future—these lie at the

foundation of all success. Cultivate and practise them assiduously if you are desirous of attaining success. Further if you wish to be useful and happy too—I have no doubt but that such is the wish of all of you—always cherish and act upon large and generous sympathies. Endeavour to see things from the point of view of other men as well as your own. Learn to endure superiority in others. Value work above theory, and duty above sentiment. Do not stimulate overmuch your critical faculty, and do not cultivate the pernicious habit of never seeing a good quality in another and never failing to see a bad one in him. Avoid as well the cynical feeling that no man does a good thing except for his own profit. I venture to assure you that you will find life much more pleasant if you habituate yourselves to ignore the evil and seek the good in all things. Finally, whatever your sphere of influence,—be it large or small—remember that there is sure to be ample scope in it for proving yourselves to be gentle and generous, sympathetic, forbearing and charitable. Resolve you shall be such. Above all, please realise that true happiness in this world is only to be reached through active beneficence, through the application of knowledge and power to the welfare of mankind.

Gentlemen, let me next impress upon you

THE NECESSITY FOR THAT HIGHER CULTURE,

without which the most important aim of education, and the great results which such culture is sure

to produce, calculated to benefit you and the country, cannot be achieved. I need hardly tell you that the marketable use of education is not its only use, It is intended to do far more than to enable you to earn your bread and increase your business. Even making a man a good citizen and training him to discharge all his duties as such faithfully and well form but a secondary object of education. What it does for the life connected with your ordinary work it ought to do for the life beyond it. It ought not only to impart knowledge but also develop mental power, help and promote the higher methods of intellectual training; uphold the dignity and popularity of the studies that will bring out the noblest powers of the mind with which the Creator has been pleased to endow us. In short, gentlemen,the great end of education is to

ENNOBLE, BRIGHTEN, AND BEAUTIFY MAN'S INNER LIFE.

But of course this end is unattainable in the limited time spent in the school or college. It is a life—long work to be pursued silently, steadily and persistently. And all of you must do this if the many years you have already devoted to your education are to lead to any real good. In carrying out this work of self-culture and improvement, let me point out to you that many of you would be

making up for a serious drawback in the present system of education, due, in a measure, to the method in which instruction is imparted in the great majority of our schools and colleges: a method chiefly necessitated by the existing system of numerous public examinations that are a great, though perhaps necessary, evil of the age both here and elsewhere. The course of instruction in vogue tends greatly to destroy the ideal of a genuine student loving and pursuing knowledge for its own sake. It causes, among other things, undue stress to be laid on the most mechanical of all the intellectual faculties, that of memory, without a corresponding development of judgment. It tends to produce men —even highly educated men—in whose case, as Mr. Pattison would say, the progress of knowledge has been only retarded by the activity of their education. And one of the results of such a system is that the habit of thinking closely and accurately, which is not to be gained without irksome practice, remains, in many cases, to be formed, if at all, after the college career has ended. I would advise such of you as have not already set about acquiring this important habit to try to do so at once. For it is highly necessary to the profitable prosecution of those future studies which are required to enrich your mind, stimulate your imagination and lift you out of the ruts along which the routine of your ordinary life forces you to travel. It is only these

studies that will enable you to maintain the elasticity of the mind and prepare you for that which all of you should aim at, namely, the carrying on the sprightliness of temper and the freshness of enjoyment, characteristic of youth, into riper years and even into old age. As has been said truly, it is

NOT YEARS THAT MAKE AGE.

Frivolous pursuits, base passions, unsubdued selfishness, vacuity of mind, life with sordid aims or without an aim at all—these are things that bring age upon men. And on the other hand, healthful tastes, an open eye for what is beautiful in nature and in man, a mind never without some active interest or pursuit—these are things that carry on the feelings of youth even into the years when the body may have lost much of its force and vitality. It is to these men, whose lives are thus well ordered, that effective search after truth becomes a possibility. And to such of them as resolutely enter upon this, the highest of man's duties on earth, Truth Divine unveils herself in one or other of her manifold forms with an attractiveness which renders to those fortunate few the pursuit in question a blissful, incessant and all absorbing occupation productive of wisdom to them, and inestimable blessings not only to the country and the race to which those favored men belong, but also to the world at large and humanity, in general. Many such noble seekers

after truth, who attained unto wisdom, lived in this land in days gone by and made it once famous. And those such men are very rare now, yet as when a plentiful supply of rain has collected itself in the parched up bed of the "Shrine side" tank there spring up in it, by magic as it were, the sacred lotus flowers, so, if we but replenish ourselves so, if we but replenish ourselves with the living waters of truth and faith, there will rise in our midst many exhalted men, who would be the means of revivifying once more that spiritual life which was the

GREATEST OF OUR ANCIENT POSSESSIONS,

and which alone can elevate us again and lead us on to our true destiny.

I would fain stop here and say good bye to you, leaving you to contemplate on this hopeful future and on the work to be done and the life to be led for attaining for such a consummation. But I feel I ought not to pass over on this occasion without some reference to one or two other topics of some importance to our general welfare.

The first of these is the question of female education. I am glad to think that the necessity for such education has passed the region of controversy. This of itself is a hopeful sign. We all of us have a great deal to do in the direction of imparting a sound and healthy education to our women. And

to my mind there is no more honorable and useful work which, as educated men, we are called upon to do than to promote the spread of knowledge among the members of the other sex. Just think of the extreme injustice of keeping one half of the members of the community in ignorance and thereby holding them in the worst of bondages. Think also of the incalculable loss, intellectual, moral and spiritual, sustained by us by compelling the minds of our women, who admittedly possess many noble and beautiful traits of character, to remain uncultivated. Again, it is only when the mothers are educated that foundation can properly be laid in the home, which is its most appropriate place, for that moral and religious training so very essential for the welfare of each generation and the greatness of the race. I would therefore urge on you to exert your utmost in this pre-eminently useful cause.

The second and the other question I wish to refer to is that of promoting the study of Sanskrit literature,

THE GREAT CLASSIC OF THIS COUNTRY.

An esteemed friend of mine observed the other day that while English education has given us ideas of nature as a whole and of mankind as a whole it has taken away from us the power of properly understanding our past and seeing it and the future in their due relation and harmony. This

complaint, I regret to say, is to a great extent true. But the remedy doubtless lies in the intelligent study of that past, on a sound understanding of which, as Harrison remarks, all hopes of the future depend. Moreover, as has been properly observed, a man who does not know what has been thought by those who have gone before him, is sure to set an undue value upon his own ideas. Even apart from this, if our own peculiar past has been, as many think, an obstacle to our progress hitherto, then, adapting the words of Lord Acton, an accurate knowledge of that past is the safest and the surest emancipation. And I know of no more powerful auxiliary to such an understanding than an impartial, critical and national study of the vast literature which Sanskrit contains, since there is scarcely a phase of life of the great mass of the people of this country that is even now totally free from the impress of that mighty influence exercised by those who created that literature. Nor is this the only claim which it has upon our earnest attention. For, as you are well aware, not a day passes without some eloquent testimony being added from the great scholars of Europe and America as to the wealth of thought which lies buried in that literature, but which we have all neglected to our great loss. I freely confess that I regard a sound knowledge of

certain portions of that literature as very necessary for the due appreciation of the

WORTH AND SOUNDNESS OF EASTERN WISDOM

(which is attracting so much attention in the West), but which we, in our ignorance, are disposed to treat as merely of antiquarian interest. To many of us that wisdom and philosophy are a sealed book and what little that some of us are privileged to know, comes to us through the interpretation of Western Scholars. You will readily admit that such a state of things is really undesirable, and that your first endeavour ought to be to remove this reproach.

I have detained you, I think, sufficiently long. Before, however, I conclude let me add a word as to the attitude you should adopt towards reforms, political and otherwise. To begin with, never submit to be under the despotism of any Caucus. In the next place avoid the mistake that, whilst even for the simplest handicraft a long apprenticeship is needful, none is necessary for taking part in the difficult work of governing the country or making its laws. Be cautious of what you do and of what you advocate and even more of what you condemn It is a serious error to suppose that every evil that you perceive admits of immediate radical remedy. Time and education alone can remove some. Strive therefore as much as you can to extend the sphere of the

influence of education. Bear in mind perfection is not achieved in a day, and nothing but the slow modification of human nature, by the discipline of social life, can produce permanent and advantageous changes. Whatever you may do, never attempt to reform society without first reforming yourself. (cries of hear, hear, and applause)

I have done. It only remains for me to remind you once more that you have from this day forward become Members of this University. May you never do anything which your *Alma Mater* need blush for and be ashamed of ; but, on the contrary, may you bring credit and honor to her. Now, gentlemen, I bid you farewell with sincere and fervent wishes for your success and prosperity, your peace and happiness :—Taken from *The Educational Review*.

MADRAS STUDENTS' CONVENTION

[*Dr. Sir S. Subramania Iyer presided over the First Madras Students' Convention held at Madras in Dec., 1916, and the following is the text of his Presidential address :—*]

My young friends:—Let me thank you for electing me your President for this first Convention of yours. It gives me great pleasure to be associated with a new organisation of juveniles which has come to birth recently. It makes me feel young, and that is a pleasurable experience for an old man. A new life is making everything new in this old world of ours and I reckon it a piece of good Karma which brings me a touch of that New Life to-day. In coming in your midst to do my share of an elder's duty I feel inspired, I feel hopeful, I feel new aspirations surging up within me. (cheers) What do I see before me ? I see hundreds of my young countrymen—I wish I could add country-women also—banded together for a laudable purpose ; young men who are India's rising citizens ; among whom are India's future ministers, statesmen, generals, and admirals ; among whom are India's future representatives to the Imperial Parliament and to the Federation of civilised races; (cries of

hear, hear and cheers) among whom are singers and poets who will sing of the glory of our Eastern land, (cheers) sages and saints who will preach the truths of our ancient faiths, (cheers) seers and mystics who will serve as of old the great orphan humanity blinded by *avidya* (applause). It is that which inspires me and makes me hopeful, and do not think that because I am old, and therefore less vigorous bodily, I do not share your enthusiasm and your aspirations. We are all young, not only you but also I, in our dream of a New India (cheers) in our vision of a Free Nation discharging its own Dharma, fulfilling its own Mission. In that high conviction I come in your midst to-day and congratulate you on your efforts which have been crowned with success inasmuch as you are holding the First Session of your Convention. Thirty-one years ago men not so young as you, started in a humbler fashion an institution which has already done wonderful work. You, younger than they, start on a more precise scale, and that precision is but a symbol of our National progress (hear, hear). If the Congress has attained to such glories, what may you not attain in your own humbler sphere in the next 30 years? Keep on, keep on like your elders, in a sober fashion, patient, persistent, persevering, and success shall be yours. And that naturally brings me to your organisation. I see in it possibilities. If you copy your elders worthily

and well, you may be able to use this Convention for self-education, most useful and practical, like the Congress which has been a great instrument of educating our people. Next, you may also find in this organisation of yours a suitable medium in and through which you may be able to bring home to your teachers and the authorities your difficulties (hear, hear). Take the advice of an old man : if ever occasion arises for this work, do it with due moderation, sense of respect and dignity, and never forget that the cardinal virtue of young Aryans has always been Reverence (hear, hear). Reverence for Law, Reverence for Elders, Reverence for Teachers, above all Reverence for Truth made the Aryan youth what he was—the glory of India in her most palmy days. It is well that after the fashion of modern times you have organised yourselves into a Convention. You are adopting an ancient custom in modern form. In olden days sishyas and chelas always presented their troubles and difficulties of all kinds and sorts to their gurus, and the latter with fatherly solicitude listened and remedied the defects and rendered all help. It is a happy sign that your schoolmasters and college professors have helped you in forming this Convention (cheers) and from my place in this Presidential Chair let me exhort them to rise to the occasion and occupy the place of those gurus of old, who did not only pour knowledge

into the heads of their pupils but loved them with a deep and abiding love, and thus created a bond which in its sanctity cannot even be surpassed by the sacred tie of holy wedlock. When I throw myself back in thought of a few thousand years and watch young Aryans at work I see no protests, no strikes, no complaints (laughter and cheers), I see peace, harmony, desire for the gaining and imparting of knowledge. I find the teacher and the taught beginning their holy task by the singing of the Peace Chant: "Om! May Brahman protect us both; may He be pleased with us! May we develop strength; illumined may our study be! May there be no dispute! Om! Shanti, Shanti, Shanti! Harih Om!" You see from this how the teacher of old recognised in his wisdom the possibility of dispute and instead of throwing the blame of all differences of opinion, when they arose, on to the rudeness of the taught prayed at the very outset: "May there be no dispute." Cannot that happy condition come back in our midst to-day? Certainly it can, and for that high emprise, you, my young friends, will have to do your duty, and of that great Dharma I want to speak making it the central theme of my Presidential Address.

THE WORK OF THE STUDENTS' CONVENTION.

But let me first touch upon the work which your organisation may rightly do of presenting, respect-

fully and in a spirit of great friendliness, the difficulties which members of the body may feel to your teachers and those who control the moulding of your future careers. Let me not be misunderstood ; I do not suggest for a moment that you should use your Convention for purposes of agitation and passing strictures and adverse criticism on persons and policies. But what I do mean is that an organisation like this may well be utilised and made to fill the gap in modern educational life when the tie of friendliness and understanding, mutual and interdependent, between teacher and pupil, is so weak (hear, hear). There is not that happy institution of old in existence to-day where the pupil formed part of the teacher's household throughout his learning years. You live in hostels or hotels mostly, where home, and all that that great word implies, is not available for you. You come in contact with your teachers in school, class, or college lecture room ; outside by snatches of minutes you get a word out of them now and then ; a sympathetic and condescending nod takes the place of healthy long discussion and talk of companions who have respect each for the other and love as of father and son. In the absence of that happy and most useful institution you are at a disadvantage inasmuch as you find little opportunity of getting your difficulties solved, your troubles of hand, head and heart removed. This age is an age of Conferences and Conventions.

labour unions and trade rings; all these are made necessary because the modern world has forgotten to act on the principle of co-operation, and competition has come to prevail, and because of that competition people who think and feel in the same manner combine to compete with others who think and feel differently. It is not altogether an ideal state of affairs, but like thoughtful men we must take the world as it is, not as it ought to be in our humble judgment and unfortunately is not. Therefore I say you may be able, by careful handling, to utilize this Convention of yours as a channel of communication between yourselves and your elders at school, college, university. Your National leaders have shown wisdom in accepting and following strictly constitutional modes of political agitation; you might well adopt that same method and remember that for you constitutional agitation must mean respectful and courteous expression of your wounded feelings or troubled thoughts—not in the spirit of a political harangue but in the lofty spirit of the Aryan youth of ancient times who propounds his difficulties to be solved. I cannot emphasise enough the value of the courteous, reverential spirit which should be always yours. Speak out boldly by all means, speak out frankly without cringing, display as much courage as you like but do it with humility, always remembering that a rough speech or a

rough manner is not a sign of strength and that gentleness should be the outstanding virtue of all young men. Remember the old Vaidik advice: "Speak the truth but speak it gently." Use it, then, this Convention, in a noble way and you may be able successfully to end the ugly feature of school and college strikes that we meet with in these days (hear, hear). You may be able also to find in it an excellent medium for rendering such service to our Motherland as you are capable of, and thus have a channel for your pent-up energy most valuable for our common regeneration. You may also through it check, if only ever so little, the spirit of unhealthy competition between school and school, college and college. You might be able through this Convention to bring home to yourselves that view-point of old which recognised in all seats of learning veritable temples where worship takes place. Do away if you can with the spirit of petty rivalry and jealousy, and as you, belonging to different schools and colleges in various places, meet together in this Convention, learn not to pull down in thought and word institutions to which you do not belong. Love your own college by all means, but let not your love be measured by your hatred of other colleges. Serve your own college by all means but do not try to throw dust on the work of your brother's college. And thus united in this Convention, bound by the ties of love and comradeship,

cemented by a lofty patriotism for our glorious Motherland you may be able—I sincerely pray for it—to introduce into twentieth century India, full of foreign influences, those ancient ideals which made India what it was—the happy land of a happy people, land of the Gods who loved her dearly and who love and serve her marvellously even to-day.

ADVICE TO TEACHERS.

Next, let me speak a word of advice to your teachers and those who are connected with the educational work to-day. I have a right to offer that advice because of my age, but more because my love for Young India whose members are to me as my own sons. There is a tendency, I regret to point out, on the part of many teachers to resent, directly or indirectly, a certain spirit of independence, of patriotic service (cries of hear, hear) of a determination to learn tabooed subjects like civics and politics, and there are unwholesome differences of views arising out of examinations and their results (laughter). In short, forces are at work, due mainly to our modern system, which bring about a kind of disharmony between teachers and pupils. The resultant factors of this disharmony are sometimes grave, at other times less serious, but invariably I find the entire blame thrown on to the boys (hear, hear and laughter). Let it not be forgotten that in passing condemnatory strictures on his students a

teacher passes condemnation on his own teaching method and his own school (hear, hear). If boys who learn under you to-day become unruly to-morrow, remember that your influence of to-day has either been bad or has not worked because it has been unsuitable (hear, hear). Next, it is human nature just to slip over our own shortcomings (laughter). When anything goes wrong, the human tendency is to put the blame on to someone and there are very few people in the world who stop to think of their own part in the mistake and fewer still who, having found it, acknowledge it openly. To the teachers, whose profession I hold in high esteem, I appeal in the name of common sense not always to blame the students in every case of unpleasant happening, for thereby they make the boys lose faith in the integrity and sense of justice of the teachers (hear, hear). Further, may I appeal to them to consider this : the Indian boy as a rule is a high-souled creature, religious, sensitive, with a perception all his own, and ideals and aspirations which in the main are not understood by his teachers—especially when these teachers belong to an alien faith or a foreign race. Science believes in heredity, and religion in a continuous and ever-evolving consciousness ; forget not, therefore, that the Indian boy has hidden in him the spiritual heritage of the past which at the present moment expresses itself in his love for his country, in his

enthusiasm for human service, in his earnest outlook on men and things, in his aspirations to be a great servant of his fellow-men. With all these surging within him, he idealises his teachers and thinks of them in a high fashion till unfortunately he finds his idols broken and his faith shaken. It is often a rude awakening for him. I say to the teachers: "you are to a large extent responsible for it. You should strive to live up to the ideals of the ancient teacher and create around you an atmosphere of joy, of attractiveness, of love, of understanding, so that these high-souled boys may follow you as their ancient predecessors followed the great gurus. Sirs, you do not possess the qualities of the ancient teachers, so necessary for your high and noble calling, and so you have no right to demand the qualities of the Aryan youth of Bharatavarsha from your pupils. (Hear, hear and cheers). Live the laws of Manu as teachers, and you will readily find those who will be eager and willing to live those laws as pupils. In olden days the pupil formed a part of his teacher's household; the master was looked upon as a father, the master's wife was revered as a mother; the pupil did the master's work and did all to please and satisfy him. Now, I ask, are your homes open to your pupils, as a place where they can run to seek any needed help? You require and expect many, many things from pupils, but I beseech you think at least a little of what you can

give them outside the class-room—something of sympathy, of affection, of goodwill. Try to see as your pupils see, feel as they feel, aspire as they aspire; encourage and do not condemn, and you will find your Indian pupil the finest specimen of youth on the face of the whole globe." (Cheers). Do not misunderstand me when I suggest that you should copy, if you may, the noble example of a noble Englishman who, as teacher, was loved and respected as few teachers ever have been, I mean my friend and brother George S. Arundale. (Loud and prolonged applause). By temperament he is a born teacher, and by endeavour he has been a successful one. See how young men cluster round him wherever he goes, be it Benares or be it Madras.

YOUNG INDIA, PREPARE YOURSELF.

But, my young friends, there is a wise saying of our forefathers that when the pupil is ready the master will appear, and my next task in this Address is to put before you a few ideas as to the work that you, as individuals, as the citizens of to-morrow, as exemplary Aryans, should perform. You are eager to render service to your country, to your fellow-men; make yourselves worthy for that high calling. You have within you the spirit of self-sacrifice, but ask yourselves whether you have anything worth offering. You aspire to worship the Motherland, let me exhort you not to go to the National Temple

empty-handed, empty-headed, empty-hearted. Let your heart be a veritable mine of sparkling gems of pure emotions—diamonds of power, rubies of love, emeralds of deep sympathy; let your head be a silent lake wherein are reflected the grandeur of the mountain peak of knowledge, the golden clouds of understanding, the marvellous foliage of logic and reasoning; let your hands carry the flowers of virtuous action—the Lotus of Duty, the Rose of Purity, the Jessamine of Faith, the Lily of Sacrifice, for no action which is not duty, which is not pure, which does not deserve faith and does not evoke sacrifice, is worth your handling. Make yourselves ready then, do not waste your time.

And that brings me to the practical aspect of the problem. What is it that your country and your National leaders expect of you? They expect you to be heroes—patriots of India, lovers of the world and its humanity for whom India lives, millennium after millennium. Take yourselves in hand and, if you can, try to train yourselves in the following manner.

BRAHMACHARYA.

The first thing which as students you should cultivate is Brahmacharya. I know some among your elders will dislike me for giving you this advice. Be that as it may (laughter). I must do my duty to you whether I please them and you,

or not. Our ancient Law-giver, the Father of our Race, the Lord Vaivasvata Manu, enjoined what modern science so clearly affirms to-day, that a student should live the life of strict celibacy. Wrong custom and deteriorated tradition has brought on us the degradation of early marriage for boys and the crime of child-marriage for girls. We cannot decry enough this shameful institution which saps the manhood of our race, and brings the name of our people into disgrace. With the passing away of physical Brahmacharya, has also gone mental celibacy, for our students are foolish in often bringing forth a mental progeny as weak as their children. The over-zeal which naturally follows the creation of a family, *viz.*, the desire to earn quickly so that he may settle down in household life has brought many a wicked result. We often blame the authorities for our educational system—perhaps I should say lack of system (laughter); while I fully agree with these critics, and while I wholly admit that our educational system needs a thorough and wholesale revision—in fact an ending of it altogether for all practical purposes—(laughter)—let us not forget that we have contributed to a certain extent towards its birth and perpetuation. Not only have we allowed it to be continued without vigorous protest and practical action, but our young men by their demands for early earnings have not discouraged

the Government from going the way they have gone, till to-day we find—well, you all know the stories about failed B. A.s and incompetent Matriculates. It is in your hands to a great extent to refuse to be satisfied with the kind of knowledge imparted to you, and one sure way of doing it is to give the course of learning its full time. Instead of learning you are trying to pass examinations so that you may earn, and who can blame you—certainly not I—when you have to hear the music of the crying child, often children, while you are struggling with problems of physics or philosophy (Laughter)? Follow the great Manu and live a life of celibacy while you are at college. You perhaps cannot help being married because of your parents or guardians, but you can choose what kind of life you should lead while you are students. If you practice Brahmacharya it will not be difficult to get the Alert Body to which I turn next.

ALERT BODY.

There are fundamental laws of bodily health and well-being which are transgressed. There are many things which you do which should be avoided and their place given to others which at present are not attended to. Your body first should be clean, next you should be tidy in appearance. The Indian boy as a rule is clean, though often through negligence or bad example he goes somewhat astray. Once

again the ancient rules of our Manu as to baths, etc., are very wholesome and I draw your attention to them. The tidy appearance is unfortunately not everywnere to be found. It is no fault of yours, but of ours who are elders and who have so far failed to teach you. While on the subject I must say a word about your dress: your short European coat and your general get-up leaves everything to be desired (Laughter). Dress is an expression of your own self and as such perhaps the present-day dress of yours is an index to your souls! Pray get out of it—you aspire to be Nationalists, then at least get into the habit of dressing in the national style. (Hear, hear). Your short thick coat is as ugly and unclean as it is unpractical. Our National costume of clean white dhoti and shirt which can be made out of home-made materials is far more beautiful and practical. It is easily cleanable, it is cheaper and above all it is prettier. Many of our young men have handsome and well-built bodies which are made ugly by faulty dressing. Discard your half-European, half-Indian costume which make you look like hybrids (hear, hear). Simple shirt and dhoti, clean and white, with bare feet or in simple sandals, with your hair kept clean will give you an appearance that will win, let me assure you, the praise of all artistic observers. (Cheers.) For the purposes of dress, be true Swadeshites; it is not difficult to be that.

SWADESHI EXERCISES.

Next, let me say a word about exercise. There is a tendency to discard Indian games and exercise and that is to be deplored. Cricket, football, hockey are excellent and serve a double purpose of physical culture and building of character but our Indian exercises are very valuable and, if for nothing else, for the sake of their mere preservation I would appeal to you to give them some consideration. We ought to have a gymnasium in this town where these exercises should be taught, and especially the development of muscles looked after through the very excellent system of wrestling called *Kusti*. I know the art at present is in the hands of people who are generally called roughs, but the art is a high one and it is a pity that through sheer negligence it should go to waste. Then there is no opportunity for you to learn the noble art of swimming, and I draw the attention of the Local Government and of the public to the duty of creating a suitable swimming bath where our boys may be trained. In Bombay a very good bath exists where competent teachers give lessons not only to boys but also grown-up people, and you will be surprised to hear even to girls. I am told that sometime ago a Parsi lady taught ladies how to swim in that same bath. I say these things to you in this Convention because, if by your discussion you create a demand, it will soon come to be supplied.

BOY SCOUTS.

I am very glad to learn that efforts are being made to create boy scouts in our midst, and I hope many of you will take to it enthusiastically, but what is more important stick to it and learn the lessons the scout-law can teach. You must persuade your elders at school and elsewhere to form cadet corps; in fact what I would like to see at least corps one for each High School and College. Do not tell me your elders won't help you, for I believe in the adage: "Ask for and it shall be given unto you." I am also glad some of you have formed yourselves into a band of volunteers, for all these things make the body alert and active and enable it to cure its sloppy ways. An erect body is symbolic of erect mind and training along these lines is most essential. Before I leave this subject let me ask you to pay more attention to your religious ceremonies. Your morning and evening Sandhya, or for our Muslim friends, prayers at fixed times, help the training of the body and teach it regularity and rhythm—so very essential for future work. We all must learn the art of doing all the little things of life, well and correctly. By our walk, by our gesture, by our small habits, by one ordinary talk, we are continuously judged; all these ordinary things are expressions of your consciousness, your souls, and as such you should cultivate them, in a manner which will bring you credit and renown. The key

to this development lies in the Reverence for Nature and Nature's laws. How beautiful were the habits of the older days. Is not our old Namaskar of two hands better and more picturesque and more graceful than the modern salaam of one hand which often reduces itself to one finger? (Laughter and cheers.) Was not the custom of asking permission of a tree for the picking of a flower a more poetic way of doing things than the somewhat cruel way of hastily destroying buds and branches? The Western world thought it wonderful that Emerson —I believe it was Emerson—should "shake hands" with his favourite trees; but did not our forefathers show the same spirit in every detail of life. While you are young and your habits are not yet formed, implant in yourselves good habits through Reverence for Nature and her laws so that everything you do with your physical bodies is done with tenderness, is done well, is done worthily.

GOOD MANNERS.

And that brings me to the next item—good manners. It is complained now-a-days that our Indian boys have no manners. If it be so, the fault is of teachers and parents and grown-up people. To blame the students for the absence of good manners is on a par with the blame we Indians receive for being unable to defend our own hearths and homes, (hear, hear). First, the opportu-

nity of defence is taken away from us and then we are abused for it ; so also no opportunity is given to you to learn good manners and then you are condemned for it. Well, my friends, what others have failed to do for you, perhaps you may be able to do for yourselves. And with an idea to help you I shall give you as shortly as I possibly can a rough plan. There are three kinds of people with whom you come in contact—(1) those who are your elders in age, in experience, in knowledge ; (2) those who are your equals ; (3) those who are younger than yourselves not only physically but morally, mentally and spiritually. If you could devise some scheme whereby you know how to behave with these three classes you will have solved, to a great extent, your problem of good manners. Now, I will tell you, in short, that you should cultivate esteem respect and devotion for all the elder beings and things who surround you ; towards your equals you must manifest love, affection, helpfulness; to those who are your juniors in age, rank and wisdom be compassionate, sympathetic, charitable, and towards all be tolerant. In your speech be truthful but also gentle and courteous ; express your resentment or your righteous indignation with sobriety and dignity ; discard foul language as also foul ideas; anger, wrath, hatred are un-Aryan and remember you are Aryan—Noble. In your action be gentle even when you are provoked and try never to be pro-

voked. If somebody abuses you, or your country, or your elders your answer should be clear and deliberate, but the outcome of cool and clear thinking and feeling that are not irritated. What others say does not much matter ; what escapes your lips matters to you the most. In your outlook be Tolerant.

TOLERANT OUTLOOK.

Remember that there are many view-points and that it is your duty to see the points of view of others. Follow your own leaders and your view-points, but your work of following will be simplified if you humbly try to see what and how others think and feel. Moreover you have to meet your opponents and you won't win your battle by ignoring their points of view. Have a wider view of life. Do not think in terms of Brahmanas and non-Bhrahmanas (laughter and cheers). Hindus and Muslims, (hear, hear) or Madrasis and Tanjorians and Andhras—think in terms of Indians. You are Indian first and everything else secondarily (cheers). Have a broader outlook, and even in the display of your Patriotism for your country do not hate or run down the countries of others. False Patriotism has brought on this deadly War ; incorporate the spirit of Brotherhood in your conception of Patriotism and you will come to love and serve the Motherland in a better and more efficient way. Learn something of the great Nations of the world—

the French, the American, the British the Japanese, even the German. It will enable you to understand your own Nation better. This tolerant outlook will bring you culture and not only head-learning, and it is culture that is most needed in our people for the purposes of gaining Home Rule as also for the carrying on of the work when Home Rule is won (cheers). And you, my young brothers, will be the people who will have to do it.

CONCLUSION

I have kept you long and now I will finish. It is a very beautiful custom which prevails amongst us that we name our sons and daughters after the names of Gods and Goddesses. When I sometimes contemplate the India of the past when Rishis and Devas walked this sacred earth and lived in our midst visibly, I feel creeping over me a disappointment that that is no more so; and then suddenly I remember that there are scores and hundreds to-day who go by the name of Narayana, Krishna, Mahadeva, Ramachandra, Lakshmi, Sarasvati, Parvati, Sita, and I begin to dream again how among the young of to-day may be, are sure to be, high-souled beings who will in their day and generation play the parts of these Gods and Goddesses. Oh! my young friends, for the sake of your country develop that inner strength which will enable you to represent yourselves in this

visible world as the living Gods that you truly are in worlds invisible. Train yourselves, be prepared, get ready to show forth in the near future the power and splendour of Ramachandra, the love and wisdom of Krishna, the sacrifice of Mahadeva, the agility of Hanuman, the helpfulness of Vishnu, the compassion of Narayana, and aid the future Sarasvatis and Lakshmis, Sitas and Parvatis, to manifest their wisdom and prosperity, their chastity and fidelity. Thus you shall bring your country, our Motherland, the land of Gods to occupy her rightful place as the Teacher of the World at large. Om! Shanti! (Loud and continued applause and cries of Vande-Mataram.)

ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS OF THE LAW COLLEGE.

It was with no small reluctance and hesitation that I have accepted your kind invitation to preside over this function. Having been now for 10 years and more completely out of touch with law and legal matters, I naturally felt I could not well take up your time with saying anything that would be really useful to you in connection with the profession for which you are preparing. When I pressed this view upon your representatives who called on me with a kind note from my good friend, your Principal, one of them said that all they wanted from me was some general advice, which might be expected from one with my fairly long experience. Of course, I took this to mean advice suggested by my experience, not necessarily as an advocate or judge but as a member of the community who has had, for over 50 years, opportunities for forming opinions on some at least of the important matters bearing upon the well-being of our people. And it is only from such a standpoint that I purpose to address you to-day.

No doubt your immediate concern, after the successful completion of your education here, will be with the courts of justice, suits and suitors and other cognate things. Nevertheless, I feel sure that many of you will pay some attention to what concerns the community at large, in matters social and political. You would otherwise fail in the duty which your comparatively high education casts upon you in relation to the Motherland.

With reference to the discharge of this duty devolving on you as citizens, I am sure you will not fail to bear in mind what His Excellency Monsieur Martineau pointed out in the course of his Convocation Address the other day when he observed: "Happy are the people wise enough to remain faithful to themselves to their past and to their traditions; happy above all are those who know how to reconcile without a break those traditions with the necessities of improvement. Fortune smiles on them and the future is in their hands." Having regard to the principle thus enunciated governing the life and longevity of individual nations and races, I would venture to ask you to consider whether it is not high time, whether it is not indispensable to make a firm stand against our unconsciously losing hold of that spirit which should guide us along the line of our true development, lest we should become a victim to the influences which are foreign, and which must necessarily lead to the

complete decay of what I would call, for want of a better word, the Indianhood in us. Let me frankly tell you that, in my humble judgment, unless we retrace our steps without much delay, we cannot but become utterly devitalised and lose all hope of future regeneration. In making so serious a pronouncement, I am not ignoring the vast benefit conferred by the British Nation on our country during the last 100 years or so. But there can be no doubt that the methods hitherto adopted, in the Government of the country, by the representatives of that Nation, which has been exercising sway over us all this time, rest on an assumption which is bound utterly to vitiate the fruition of their well-meant work. That assumption to all appearance is that the end and aim of British tutelage of India is to westernise its children. The fulfilment of that aim, it is needless to point out, must, in the very nature of things, tend to sap all true life and initiative, natural to our people as a distinctively eastern race destined to evolve on lines of its own, socially, ethically, and otherwise. This view, it is gratifying to find, is now beginning to be felt, and strongly felt here, and elsewhere by many careful observers of the prevailing conditions in our land.

In support of the above remark, I may refer to a statement which appeared in the columns of a recent issue of the *Statist*, a journal that reflects the opinions of a large class in the British Isles who

are by no means disposed blindly to condemn the methods in vogue in the administration of this country. Though, at this moment, I am unable to recall the exact words of the journal, they were to the effect that the object of the present rule seemed intended to metamorphose His Majesty's Indian subjects into what may not be inaptly described as a quasi-English breed.

Now, let me turn to a local and most competent witness, Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, Special Lecturer on Indian Economics of the Punjab University. In the course of a lecture delivered by him a few weeks ago with the Vice-Chancellor of that University in the chair, he made a powerful indictment against the industrialism of European countries, and laid stress on the disaster which he saw already attending the application of western economics to the country. I make no apology for quoting some of his observations disclosing the gravity of the situation he was denouncing as the result of profound study. In one part of the discourse, after showing that western economics was based solely upon the socio-economic evolution of one type—the Græco-Roman—the learned Professor contended that the process in question brought about "the destruction of the village, of the related arts and crafts on the one hand and on the other with the introduction of the dehumanised and desocialised methods of production with all

what it involves, the uninhabitable *busti*, the disintegration of family and social groups, the breaking-up of the communal order based on human and natural relationships, economic and social unsettlement". He concluded with the remark:

> It is only the economics of communalism which is akin to the spiritual outlook that India stands for, which can rescue the world from the mad pursuit of monopolistic appropriation and advantage, mechanical efficiency and power, and redeem it from the inevitable sins.

The next and the last item of testimony I rely on, comes from a source entitled to the greatest weight. It is that of Sir John Woodroffe to be found in the address delivered by him in May last year in Calcutta when presiding at a meeting in an Indian Young Men's Club. I need scarcely remind you that Sir John's conclusions on the point are the result of the knowledge derived by him during his residence in this country for no less than a quarter of a century, and of his intimate acquaintance with the people, their habits and customs, their literature, philosophy and religion, their arts and crafts. He speaks with a sympathy, wisdom and discrimination which must command our admiration and gratitude. The portion of the address I wish to cite is so pregnant and suggestive as to make it unnecessary for me to ask you to excuse the length of the quotation. It runs:

This and other Indian clubs should be centres of Indian life and thought and generators of Indian power. The world was a manifestation of Divine *Power* (Shakti) and each man was himself a centre of it, being a fragment (Angsha) of that Great Power. They must be true to the lines on which by the divine imagining (Kalpana) they had been laid. That is they must also, like human artists, do *work to type.* This meant they must not imitate any foreign people but be Indian, and shape themselves as such by the study of the literature, art, philosophy and religion of their ancestors. As they knew, they owed a debt to the "Pitris" who would not give their aid if ignored. Each must be true to himself and his type.

Some had become so anglicised that they had almost lost their Indian *Soul.* They thought in English, spoke in English and cut their hair in English, ten annas in front and six annas behind. How was it possible to be true to oneself and yet to be always imitating others? Could all this gain respect? As they asked respect for themselves, they must give it to others, who might rightly incite them to develop new qualities in themselves in forms conformable to their own type and nature. But this was a different thing to putting on

secondhand clothes borrowed from the shop of servile imitation. He had recently read a prospectus of studies for an Indian school in which there was not a single item which showed that the boys were Indian. By all means, let them learn about, and be helped by, the example of other countries, but do not forget their own. If they took what others could give, let them assimilate it, so that it became not others but their own. In this way the fire of the Indian spirit would burn all the more intensely by the fuel it fed on. There would then be an Indian "Homa" fed with what was of worth gathered elsewhere. Each should thus realise himself as a centre of Power and firmly work their own good and that of their country.

What India wanted at present was a Religion of Power. The other side of the Spirit she knew better than any. By Power he did not mean merely physical force.

Material force was necessary and serviceable in its way, but it must be backed by mental and spiritual force for man was matter, mind and spirit. The finest modern weapon in the hands of a physically strong man achieves nothing if his head and will be weak. Whence may *Power* be had? India had a well of strength in the Vedantic truth of the Divinity of

man. The belief that each man and woman is a Shakti whose power of accomplishment is only limited by their wills is a faith which will dispel all present weakness and sloth. We are what we have made ourselves in the past. We shall be what we *will* to be. Each must realise himself to be a fragment of the great Shakti which is India and then of the infinite Shakti on whose lap she lies—the Mother of the Universe.—*Bharata Sakti*, pp. 2, 3 and 4.

It is our non-adherence for some centuries to the "Religion of Power," as Sir John expresses it, that has landed us in our present lamentable condition of dormancy. And it was in order to cure such distemper of ours that, to be sure, Providence brought about our contact and relation with the British. As to the relative functions of the British and ourselves in this commingling of the two Sir John strikingly observes that the former are to be "a blister" to which we "must react". Reverting to the phrase "Religion of Power" the thought implied in it was explained by Sir John himself in a letter sent by him to Pramathanath Mukopadhyaya, Professor of Philosophy, Ripon College. Sir John calls it "Pravrtti Dharma" which, I think, I may interpret as the law of forthgoing, of self-expression and self-assertion having its origin in that ultimate and

supreme cause of all manifestation, energy and activity, namely Brahman's *bahu bhavana maha-sakti* or the supreme potency of infinite becoming. Both in the address and in the letter in question Sir John postulates and proceeds upon the view accepted as an established fact in nature by intuitive students of the hidden side of what is a race. According to that view the idea of a race is not a mere metaphysical abstraction but involves the existence of a spiritual entity, namely, the collective soul of the group of individuals forming the race which assumes from time to time various bodies. Each race necessarily starts with a germ containing in potentiality those peculiar qualities and attributes which it has to develop in the course of its evolutionary cyclic journey in order that it may contribute at the end its quota to human perfection. It is to this germ of our own race that Sir John alludes when, in the letter, he speaks of the digging of the "*Bija*" out of all the accretions—and so allowed to have the play of its true activities—a process which no doubt will meet with obstacles not only from the foreign sources but also from the indigenous so-called orthodoxy. And surely no other than the indwelling power, the innate potency of the Bija of our race, is really impelling us to seek the removal of the obstacles in the way of our regular growth—obstacles almost entirely due to the alien Governmental machinery which is producing dire results too patent to be lost sight of any longer.

Let me here refer to a few instances by way of illustration. Take now the all-important subject of education. What is the net result of the work under this head since the date of Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1854 which led to the formation of the Department of Public Instruction and its operations? The latest important pronouncement on this more than half a century's work was the one made the other day by the Indian member of our Executive Council. The Hon. Dewan Bahadur Rajagopalachariar, I believe, paid particular attention to the matter of education in the British Isles during his visit to Europe a couple of years ago. Furthermore as Secretary to the Government he had, for a considerable period, charge of the Department of Public Instruction. Therefore, in trying to defend the system in force in this Presidency against the attacks of Mr. Vyasa Rao in the lecture delivered by him in the Triplicane Hindu High School about three weeks back, Mr. Rajagopalachariar was speaking with an authority due to his high official position and special knowledge of the subject. In the course of his remarks he is reported to have said :

> The real weak point in the present system of education was that it did not develop in their young men a sufficient amount of determination and grit.

He proceeded to show that this want of determination and grit rendered our educated men unfit

efficiently to discharge important civic duties. It would be difficult to agree with the opinion that the defects in the prevailing system of education are confined to the one point referred to by Mr. Rajagopalachariar. But assuming he was entirely right, the great aim of all education being to build up and develop character, it is impossible to conceive of a stronger condemnation of the system than that involved in his pronouncement.

Let me now take an instance connected with the administration of justice which is likely to interest you more as students in this College. I mean the question of the rights of a Hindu woman taking property by inheritance from her relations of either sex. The law, as it now stands, as the outcome of half a century's discussion, is that she takes only a limited or qualified estate in the property inherited and therefore, it does not on her death descend to her own heirs as other property possessed by her, but will go to the heir of the last full owner thereof and that her powers of alienation in respect of it are practically *nil*. This doctrine is the result of judicial muddling which has been going on from the time the High Courts were established in 1862. Prior to that year the law on the point, except in Bengal, was different. Confining myself to this Presidency, the old rule was that property inherited by a woman from any relation of hers irrespective of the latters' sex vested in the inheritor as her absolute property.

descendable to her own heirs in accordance with the unmistakable words of Vijnaneswara's *Mitakshara* all along accepted as the standard authority guiding the courts in this and other part of India. But, with the constitution of the High Court and the cessation of the practice of the judges consulting Pandits on questions of Hindu law, a change came that has not contributed to the satisfactory administration of the Hindu law by the courts of the country including the highest ones. Judges, who with rare exceptions did not know Sanskrit, were compelled to ascertain the law from a handful of English translation of but parts of original Sanskrit authorities not always consistent with each other, written centuries ago, in a form with which the judiciary was utterly unfamiliar. In such circumstances, it was inevitable that mistakes should be committed in dealing with intricate questions arising in litigation. Among such mistakes, the one, which has inflicted a very serious injury on the community concerned, has been that involved in the rule I have alluded to. For it has completely destroyed a most valuable right possessed by women throughout the country previous to 1862, and has been a source of perpetual litigation and disturbance to the peace of families. As I have already suggested, the rule has been growing, day by day. The first step was when a widow was held to take a limited estate in what she inherited from her husband. The rule was then

extended to a daughter succeeding to her father's property. It has since been laid down that a woman inheriting even from an ancestor of her own sex, mother, grandmother and the like takes also a qualified estate. No doubt, when this process of curtailment of women's well-established rights was going on, eminent Orientalists and jurists as Justices West and Telang of Bombay and Sir Gurudas Bannerjee of Bengal proved to demonstration that the rule in question was contrary to the *Mitakshara* and was due to a misinterpretation of its language. But the courts had gone too far to retrace their steps and it has thus come to pass that, during the time when strenuous efforts were being made all the world over to improve and better the status and position of women, enlightened English Judges have been the instruments of bringing about a contrary state of things in this country. The remedy in the case could have come only from the legislature. Here was the difficulty. For the legislature, as now constituted, finds itself helpless in the matter. Those in whose hands the power to redress really lies, namely, the Executive Government, is afraid to touch the question, being, on the one hand, utterly incompetent to deal with it and, on the other, determined not to allow any step to be taken in the matter by non-official Hindu members even after the Reform Councils came into existence. At the instance of a former Advocate-General of this

Presidency, who afterwards became a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, a Hindu law digest was prepared by the late Raja T. Rama Row in the, seventies as a basis for a code, intended to be drafted in view to legislation on the subject; but as might be expected nothing came out of it. For, the Government cares little for such a project, however necessary it be from the point of view of the community concerned, and though a modern enactment in the matter is indispensable to settle the law on many points which continue to be involved in doubt and obscurity, and thus a source of wasteful litigation and dubiousness of titles.

Another case of inexcusable backwardness in absolutely necessary legislation relates to the innumerable public religious endowments so notoriously mismanaged all over the country. Repeated efforts to secure an amendment of Act XX of 1863 almost from the time of the enactment thereof have been fruitless. The said instances are but a few of the many minor grievances due to the defects in the Governmental machinery as it at present stands. And needless to say, numerous are those grave evils which it will be out of place to refer to here, obstructing our real advancement ascribable to the same cause.

In all the circumstances stated above no wonder that we find ourselves under the necessity of claiming an effective share in the internal manage-

ment of the country. And I ask you not to fail to play your part nobly in securing that share so far as it lies in each and everyone of you. Believe me no more glorious task can devolve upon you than that of winning by purely constitutional means freedom and equality for India as an integral part of the British Empire. The goal is not far off, but its attainment will entail on all of us colossal sacrifice which we cannot shirk or avoid. By such sacrifice, youthful India will become purified custodians of that treasure of which they are in charge, as Sir John points out in one place of the address I have been quoting from.

I have ventured to speak to you this afternoon as I have done, you not being within the grip of G.O. 559 in regard to which the less said the better. This G.O., I do not hesitate to say, has been a mandate that has tended only to a state of unseemly belligerency on the part of the authorities towards a considerable section of pupils in the schools and colleges, leading to a drastic treatment of the latter utterly unsuited to the necessities of the case. In passing, I venture humbly to implore those irate schoolmasters and vindictive Professors who seem altogether denuded of that affection that should ever mark their relation to the youths that are under their charge, and also those higher powers who, by a stroke of

their pen, can make or unmake the careers of our children in their after-life and who, for the time being, seem to be bereft of all sense and love of that mercy untempered by which no real justice can exist or be done—I implore all these to ponder over the spirit of that solemn prayer and invocation with which Sir John Woodroffe concludes his stirring address. This prayer and invocation is, as you know, even to-day uttered with befitting reverence by Hindu pupils and teachers at the commencement of their scriptural study and is capable of producing that calm so essential to all profitable study. It were well if the spirit which pervades this chant of ours could be made to prevail in the class rooms in all our schools and colleges, though such a thought is likely to be laughed at by those it should concern and who seem to be now quite reason-proof, if I may be allowed such an expression. In bringing this talk of mine to a close I think I cannot do better than invite your most careful attention to some more of Sir John's observations which I quote below, as they should be full of high inspiration and great cheer to you all. He said:

The solicitation of a friend and interest in the student had brought him there that day—the more readily that the students had lately been severely spoken of. He felt more happy when in the company of students than in most places: for

youth with its "*balabudhi*" to which their Sanskrit address referred, was both sincere and hopeful--the two qualities which a large number of people lost as they grew up through their ambitions and dis-illusions. Only a week ago, an Indian friend (perhaps under the influence of the abnormal heat) had said to him: "This is a dead country," to which he replied that only those are dead, who believe themselves to be so, and asked "Is the Indian student dead?" His friend had to admit that his hopes were there. But he [Sir John Woodroffe] said his confidence was there. "This land is not dead On the contrary, it has survived all the great Empires, save that of China, which were its contemporaries in past ages. Egypt, Persia, Babylon, Greece and Rome live only in their influence upon the civilisations which succeeded them. India is yet alive, though not fully awake to-day. It is precisely because it is a living force that it provokes antagonism from those, who dislike or fear its culture. Does anyone now fume against or ridicule the life and morals of Egypt or Babylon? They and other past civilisations are left as things which are dead and gone to the scientific dissection of the cool historian. But when touching India even scholars cannot be impartial. Why? Because India is not the mere subject of academic talk, but is a living force. India is still feared where she is not

loved. Why again? Precisely because she lives. Because she is still potentially powerful to impose her ideas upon the world. She is still an antagonist to be reckoned with in the conflict of cultures. Why has she, with her civilisation so unique, so different from any other of East or West, been preserved? India lives because of the world purpose which she has to fulfil; because the world will be enriched by what she can give to it. The Indian youth of to-day are the custodians of this treasure. Proud of their guardianship let them cast aside false shame of themselves and of their own as also all fear and sloth.

The students had been much criticised of late: but if he judged them aright, they would not be depressed over it. For himself he was not alarmed at their condition. Nothing in the world was perfect nor wholly worthless, as the Sanskrit proverb ran. Every good quality carries with it the liability to certain defects. The broad way of looking at matters was to see whether the qualities outweighed the defects. The students had faults (who has not?) but these were connected with certain qualities of energy and self-respect which they had acquired and which are in themselves praiseworthy. Of course, all wished the defects away; but speaking for himself, he would rather they had these faults than that they should be torpid, servile and lacking in self-respect. For himself he saw in the students the commencement of a future of great worth. He was

glad to hear that the students had got up the club themselves—this showed activity and independence —and that it was not merely one of those ponds which well meaning persons had made in order that they might more easily angle for the young idea. They should, however, have a definite notion of what they intended to do.

Much progress had been made towards self-realisation during the quarter of a century in which it had been his privilege to live in this sacred country. He was always endeavouring to read the future of it, and nowhere could it be read with greater certainty than in the minds and bodies of the Indian student. In the world-play let theirs be a truly Indian part. He concluded with the Sanskrit Mantra from the *Yatidharmanirnaya* said by Teacher and disciple before the study of the Vedanta which, he said, was a fit prayer for all students and moreover their very own. 'Om Saha navavatu, Saha nau bhunaktu, Saha viryam karavavahai, Tejasvinavadhitamastu, Ma vidvishavahai.' "May God protect us both. May He grant aid and may we grant aid. May we too work with all our strength. May our study be with understanding. May there be no dissension between us"—*Sri vrata Sakti*, p, 1, 2 and 4.

Let me conclude by wishing you all success in your examinations and in the impending struggle of life, which in the case of those of you who belong to my unfortunate caste, will, in all probability, be severe indeed —for reasons too obvious to state.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION.

[*The National Education Week, in Madras, which closed on 14th April 1918, was concluded with a great Public Meeting held the next day at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, with Sir S. Subramania Aiyer in the chair. The following is his speech in concluding the proceedings of the Meeting* :—]

With reference to a decision on a question like this, it is necessary to try and avoid our emotions to run away with us. But at the same time it is impossible that a question like this could be discussed altogether soundly without taking into note that everything has three characteristics, namely, Emotional Character, Reasoning Character, and Soul Character and you cannot dispose of any question without examining it from these three points of view. Whilst all admit the propriety of the observations of Principal Paranjpye and though sensationalism is at the bottom of this movement, it is impossible to avoid being altogether free from emotions and sensations and the duty of the people like those who have taken part in this movement is to keep up emotion subject of course to proper control. Mr. Satyamurthy has made such glowing remarks about me that it is impossible not to feel

thankful to him and I convey to Mr. Satyamurthy the thanks of the Madras City for his splendid services and he has become such an important figure in our public affairs. Though I do not reside in Adyar, I have been a Theosophist for the last 30 years, I have been an Adyar man more than the people residing there from 1885 when I came down to Madras and the first place I visited then was Adyar to which place I always go with joy and with hope as enlightenment is to be found there and illumination is certain to come in day after day. This movement of National Education has a great deal to do with Adyar people such as Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arundale, Wadia and numerous others. Why should people belonging to Adyar be denounced as if they are renegades and are not fit to take part in National Affairs? I throw back to Principal Paranjpye that in all India there are no men or women who willingly serve the Motherland, India, with greater devotion than the Adyar people. You will remember that the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri wrote a letter in which he said that he was neither a Home Ruler nor a Theosophist and it became my pleasant duty to send him a letter in reply. He wrote to me to say that having regard to my old age and white hairs, he did not wish to enter into newspaper criticism and I wanted him to reply to me but he dare not reply. It is this kind of cynical and insincere habit

which is at the bottom of the present article in the *Servant of India*. It is an article which appears in the journal of which the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri is the father a journal bringing discredit on an honourable name in politics. Principal Paranjpye while charging us with sentimental emotion has been guilty of a nasty kind of attack. He is a careful reasoner, a great mathematician, a senior wrangler, but I do not know whether he believes in the existence of God. In all probability he does not. His objection to religion being taught in school cannot but make him a godless man. It is said that there are so many divergent ideals, so many dogmas, that religion could not be taught in schools, but very able speakers have pointed out to you that there is a fundamental body of religious schools which can be taught, which ought to be taught and could most happily and usefully be taught to all young children. To object to the teaching of religion as part of a National System of Education is to talk utter nonsense. Principal Paranjpye is hopelessly out of touch with what is necessary to society. Many of our critics agree as to the necessity of change in our educational system, but they only object to the word "National" being affixed to it. Then, why should not these critics give us a better name? That only goes to show that they are not really attacking the sound part of the system but are only trying to beat about the bush and creating

prejudice by talking of National Mathematics, National Philosophy, etc. In a matter like this, as Mr. Satyamurthy has pointed out, it is absurd for us to look upon Principal Paranjpye as an opponent worthy of our scheme. Who is he? What right has he to decide this question. The question is for us to determine collectively and how can any man of sense be able to form mistaken opinions upon the question. Every child that is born into the world has to grow. He reaches maturity and old age and dies and takes up another body. Take the common sense view of things. What is true of individuals is true of nations. When the present system of education was devised, the Indian people had not arrived at the stage when it was necessary to think of a National System of Education. For my part, I quite admit the value of the education which you have received and Macaulay did us a good service. At the time when the present system of education was introduced, the Indian people did require certain correctives. Decadence had set in for centuries and many customs over-powered good sense. Providence which never makes an error thought it right that English people should come to this country and that the Englishmen and Indians should come in contact with one another. One of the best things that they did was to introduce this system of education. One particular quality of English Education is that it makes you think and examine

and bestow more attention to authority than any other system of education. Humanity all through the world and certainly in India is moving at a very rapid rate. We are at a time of evolution now when we say that when a man asserts a certain right he should support it by correct reasoning. We say that we are thankful for the English education but that it is out of date now and that we want a better system. Where is the absurdity? What is the object of education? Is it getting a few Brahmanas and making them good officials? Is not the system of education one which ought to uplift the poor men of the country. The masses of the country could be educated provided the medium of instruction was vernaculars. We want National Education in the sense that the great masses must be able to get all the value of Western Education through their own mother-tongue. Principal Paranjpe says that in this movement of National Education there is underground antipathy to Government. So far as I am concerned there is no underground antipathy but it is open antipathy. People are entitled to say that they object to a system of education under which Professors draw fat salaries and have the least number of hours of work. Nobody pretends to be able to concoct a scheme which is perfect. But we hope to be able to evolve a scheme which before long will guide the destinies of this country. In about

10 or 15 years from now, more people will cry for National University institutions in preference to Government institutions, and I hope that a time will come when Government institutions will have to beg of National Institutions for scholars. Of all things which England did in this country, two things are more sensible. They found two classes : one was the Panchama whom they made a servant and the other was the Brahmana whom they made a clerk. The Brahmana community has been ruined absolutely by the present system of education which has made them fit only as clerks. There are hundreds and hundreds of positions which they ought to take in order to make India what it was and what it ought to be. It is a work which will require even hundred years and we cannot but be honoured that we have been pioneers in the field. As regards money the money that has been collected is not much from the point of view of actual sum, but the sources from which it came, the willingness with which it was given, the intelligence which it argued and the liberality with which offers were made, are strong arguments in support of the soundness of the system. Before long, we shall be able to tap sources which will give us not 25,000 rupees but 25 lakhs. I wish to draw your attention in this connection to the pamphlet wherein I pointed out that from the days of antiquity, temples in this country were intended to be places of culture and that their funds were in-

tended, to be devoted to culture and education. Before long I hope that some of the people who are now working in the cause of National Education will be able to get in as trustees of some of these temples and then try to get some money for National Education purposes. In conclusion, I ask you to take for granted that we are humble servants of Mother India and are not trying to mislead you, but I ask you to co-operate with us so that under the system of education that we propose to introduce, the education of India's sons and daughters will be suited to the conditions of India and not an education that is forced upon us. From now, the present system of education will be poison and not food. (Cheers).

APPENDIX

LETTER TO Dr. WILSON

Madras, India, 24th June, 1917.

To His Excellency, President Wilson.

Honoured Sir,

I address this letter to you as Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India, an organisation voicing the aspirations of a United India as expressed through the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League. These are the only two bodies in India to-day which truly represent the political ideals of that Nation of more than three hundred million people, because the only bodies created by the people themselves.

Over five thousand delegates of these two popular assemblies met at their annual convention in Lucknow last December, and they unanimously and co-jointly agreed upon identical Resolutions, asking His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date, to grant democratising reforms, and to lift India from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal

partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

While these Resolutions, Honoured Sir, voiced India's aspirations, they also expressed her loyalty to the Crown. But, though many months have elapsed, Great Britain has not yet made any official promise to grant our country's plea. Perhaps this is because the Government is too fully occupied with the heavy responsibility of the War.

But it is the very relationship of the Indian Nationalist Movement to the War that urges the necessity for an immediate promise of Home Rule—Autonomy for India, as it would result in an offer from India of at least five million men in three months for service at the front, and of five million more in another three months.

India can do this because she has a population of three hundred and fifteen millions—three times that of the United States, and almost equal to the combined population of all the Allies. The people of India will do this, because then they would be free men and not slaves.

At present we are a subject Nation, held in chains, forbidden by our alien rulers to express publicly our desire for the ideals presented in your famous War Message: ". . . the liberation of peoples, the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their ways

of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty "

Even as conditions are, India has more than proved her loyalty to the allies. She has contributed freely and generously both blood and treasure in France, in Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary of State for India, said: "There are Indian troops in France to this day; their gallantry, endurance, patience and perseverance, were shown under conditions new and strange to them." Field-Marshal Lord French said: "I have been much impressed by the initiative and resources displayed by the Indian troops." The London *Times* said concerning the fall of Baghdad: "It should always be remembered that a very large proportion of the force which General Maude has guided to victory are Indian regiments. The cavalry which hung on the flanks and demoralized the Turkish army and chased it to the confines of Baghdad, must have been almost exclusively Indian cavalry. The infantry which bore months of privation and proved in the end masters of the Turks, included Indian units, which had already fought heroically in France, Gallipoli and Egypt."

If Indian soldiers have achieved such splendid results for the Allies while slaves, how much greater would be their power if inspired by the

sentiments which can arise only in the souls of free men—men who are fighting not only for their own liberties but for the liberties of mankind! The truth is that they are now sacrificing their lives to maintain the supremacy of an alien Nation which uses that supremacy to dominate and rule them against their will.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the official Government in India utterly failed to get a response to its recent appeal to Indians to volunteer for military service Only five hundred men came forward out of a possible thirty million.

It is our earnest hope that you may so completely convert England to your ideals of world liberation that together you will make it possible for India's millions to lend assistance in this war.

Permit me to add that you and the other leaders have been kept in ignorance of the full measure of misrule and oppression in India. Officials of an alien nation, speaking a foreign tongue, force their will upon us; they grant themselves exorbitant salaries and large allowances; they refuse us education; they sap us of our wealth; they impose crushing taxes without our consent; they cast thousands of our people into prisons for uttering patriotic sentiments—prisons so filthy that often the immates die from loathsome diseases.

A recent instance of misrule is the imprisonment of Mrs. Annie Besant, that noble Irish woman who

has done so much for India. As set forth in the accompanying statement signed by eminent legislators, editors, educators and pleaders, she had done nothing except carry on a law-abiding and constitutional propaganda of reforms; the climax being her internment, without charges and without trial, shortly after printing and circulating your War Message.

I believe His Majesty, the King, and the English Parliament are unaware of these conditions, and that, if they can be informed, they will order Mrs. Besant's immediate release.

A mass of documentary evidence, entirely reliable corroborative and explanatory of the statements in this letter, is in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner, who would esteem it a privilege to place it at your disposal. I have entrusted this letter to them because it would never have been permitted to reach you by mail. They are loyal Americans, editors, authors, and lecturers on educational and humanitarian subjects, who have been deeply interested in the welfare of India. They have sojourned here off and on during the last ten years, and so have been eye-witnesses to many of the conditions herein described. They have graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey this letter to you personally in Washington.

Honoured Sir, the aching heart of India cries out to you, whom we believe to be an instrument of God in the reconstruction of the world.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) SUBRAMANIEM.

Knight Commander Indian Empire, Doctor of Laws;

Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India;

Co-Founder of the National Congress of India in 1885;

Retired Judge and frequently Acting Chief Justice of the High Court of Madras.

II

THE "SPECIAL CONGRESS AND REFORM SCHEME."

Sir S. Subramania Aiyar writes, on this vital topic, as follows to The Hindu *of the 1st June, 1918.*

The All-India Congress Committee has decided that there should be a Special Session of the Congress after the announcement of the proposals regarding the Indian Constitutional Reforms and that it should be held at Allahabad or Lucknow. Whether a Special Session should be held or not must depend upon the time of the announcement, as there must be a sufficient interval between the announcement and the sitting of the Congress in relation to it to enable the country fully to consider the proposals and to formulate its decision in the matter. If the announcement should be delayed, so as to precede the December Session, leaving only the necessary interval for the preliminary discussion by the country, there can be no need for a Special Session. If, on the other hand, the announcement should take place as is expected, say by the end of this month, then of course a special sitting must be held and that at either of the places already fixed by the All-India Congress Committee. There are amongst us some who believe that an attempt is made to prevent the holding of the Congress in pursuance of the Resolution of the All-India Congress Committee at either of the places and

cause it to be held at some other city outside the United Provinces. The object of this move appears to be, in the opinion of those who entertain the said belief, to prevent the Session being presided over by the one man who will be able to voice the true conviction and attitude of the country as a whole unflinchingly and fearlessly as regards the Reform proposals that may be made, whatever their intrinsic worth—I need scarcely say that that man is no other than Mr. Tilak. The foundation for this fear is in the existence of a clique pledged to secure a seeming approval of our people to the proposals referred to, however short they may fall of the country's demand as contained in the Congress-League Scheme. The existence of this party and their unceasing activity, however silently carried on, no careful observer of current events can fail to note, at all events from just prior and subsequent to the internment of 16th June down to the present moment. And to this party it is needless to add Mr. Tilak has been the most obnoxious of political opponents and consequently the last man who should be sufferred to guide the deliberations of so momentous a Session as that in which the Congress will express the verdict of the country on what is so vital to its future and this, lest their pledge should prove futile! It may be taken as a practical certainty that the choice will fall upon Mr. Tilak, if the Session sits either at Allahabad or at

Lucknow. In order to avert such a result the simple expedient of this party is to bring about a change of venue by pursuading the Congress Committee of the U. P. to plead inability to hold the special Session within the province and get Bombay to consent to do it so that Mr. Tilak's election may become impossible under the Congress rules. In such circumstances, I trust I may be permitted to presume to act as I did with reference to the election of the President of the last Congress held at Calcutta and invite attention to the impending danger so that we may be prepared for what is apparently taking place underground. Our first course should be to get the U. P. not to forego the honor and shirk the responsibility of holding so unique a Session of the National Assembly under their own auspices in accordance with the considered selection of the All-India Congress Committee. I cannot for a moment believe that the U. P. Committee will lend itself to a course of action which will be to the utter discredit of any part of India. However this may be, we have also to admit most reluctantly that the unexpected sometimes happens and we should be forewarned and prepared even for such a contingency. For the very reason which will make it discreditable for the U. P. to refuse to hold the Congress Session within its limit, Bombay should refuse to hold the Session within its area, as otherwise it would prevent its

most devoted leader to serve the country at this critical juncture, and surely one may rest assured that the Bombay Committee will never be a party to such intrigues. The part of India that should save the situation is Central Provinces which will unquestionably welcome the holding of a Session under the presidency of one who is so dear to her people. Though some may be disposed to think that I have taken pains to raise an issue that may never rise, I have felt it my duty to draw attention to this matter as it is one in regard to which no risk can be taken by any well-wisher of the country and my apology is my sincere belief that it is not altogether a case to be put aside as an instance of smoke without fire.

It may not be out of place to add a word or two regarding another subject which is now agitating the public mind. I mean the attitude which we should observe with regard to the expected proposals of reform. Until they are actually announced no one has a right to definitely mark out what the country at large should do, with reference to the acceptance, wholly or partially, of the proposals or the contrary. Until the proposals are authentically known, no one can have a right to bind the country as to the extent of the country's acceptance thereof. The best course further, for all of us will be to withhold one's own opinion on the matter, however strong it may be, till the right moment for the

expression of opinion arrives. Any other course would necessarily handicap us and lead to differences and discussions which can only strengthen the hands of the party so assiduously working to our detriment. It ought to be plain that an abstention for the time being in this regard can do no harm whatever to our interests having regard to the fact that our leaders have times without number asserted that nothing short of the Congress-League Scheme can be acceptable to the country, however much the clique referred to may try to make out that even an anna's share would be welcome to the people. I refrain therefore from entering into the controversy as to what should be done by us if unfortunately the Congress-League Scheme might fail to find acceptance with Parliament. It is impossible to lay down beforehand what individuals must do when that contingency arises to secure what is withheld from us. One thing, however, is certain that no undertaking to cease agitation now or hereafter should be given by any one interested in the well-being of the motherland and no hearty co-operation expected from us save compliance with His Majesty's Command as to our duty against the German aggression and the protection of the country as a part of the Empire. None should flinch from asserting such a position whatever be the pressure brought to bear upon him and whatever may be

the quarter from which it comes. This is simple obligation resting upon all of us, notwithstanding differences of opinion upon minor issues which one must always expect to arise in such circumstances as we find ourselves now in.

The one outstanding question which at the present moment calls for a widespread uncompromising and strenuous agitation in all parts of the country is the turning back of Dr. Nair, as his presence in England, when the reform proposals are to come up for discussion there, would be most deleterious now that all our representatives have been peremptorily ordered back thus leaving no one on our side to place the truth before the British public and counteract the insidious work of this emissary of the Sydenham party. Every city throughout India should bestir itself with reference to this matter and loudly call for redress at the hands of the War Cabinet, who, I am sure, can hardly have the face to deny it, and thus save the credit of British justice to this extent at least. I do not hesitate to say that the failure of the Cabinet to do so will be a stain that can never be wiped out. It only remains for me to add that the insincerity of the authorities, in expecting co-operation by cessation of agitation on our part must be patent to the whole world from this latest and most invidious exercise of their power, so contemptuously ignoring all principles of fair play.

III

THE REPLY TO UNJUST ATTACK

[*To questions put to him in the House of Commons with regard to the letter of Sir Subramania Iyer to President Wilson* (*vide p. 389*), *Mr. Montagu answered* : "*The impropriety of this disgraceful letter is all the more inexcusable owing to the position of the writer. The assertions in the letter are too wild and baseless to require or receive notice from any responsible authority. No action has as yet been taken regarding the matter and I am communicating with the Viceroy.*" *Sir J. D. Rees asked* : "*Is Mr. Montagu aware that the author of the letter is seventy-seven and that this was a senile production*" ? *This evoked much criticism and especially* "THE MADRAS MAIL" *threatens that Sir S. Subramania Iyer should be deprived of his K. C. I. E. In the above connection Sir S. Subramania Iyer wrote as an answer the following letter to the Press on 15-6-18* :—]

Feeling that I should not allow any lapse of time to take place, I proceed at once to offer such explanation as is in my power in the present circumstances with reference to the proceedings in the House

of Commons on the 3rd instant. The matter may seem personal at first sight, but is in reality one of supreme public importance. Of course I refer to the Secretary of State's answer to the question by Mr. Hicks regarding my letter to President Wilson. Though there has been a great deal of discussion on the subject in the Press all over India, particularly in the Anglo-Indian journals, I have thought it my duty to refrain from saying anything myself about the said letter. Even had I adopted a different course, I could have added nothing worth the attention of my countrymen, having regard especially to the complete light thrown on the subject by what appeared in *New India* some weeks ago and which has since been made easily accessible to the public in the shape of a pamphlet under the title "An Abominable Plot". But the silence which I had imposed on myself must now cease, and the strange utterance of the Secretary of State on the 3rd instant in reply to Mr. Hicks' question makes it obligatory on me to take notice of it. In doing so, it is only necessary just to advert as briefly and accurately as I can to what took place in December last during the visit of H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to this city and to a communication received by me from the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government bearing the date 8-2-18

The Interview with Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy.

Most are aware that I was among those that sought and obtained an interview with the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. At the time appointed I presented myself at the Government House, and, on taking my seat, the interview was begun by His Excellency the Viceroy in a spirit and warmth which absolutely startled me. In referring to what was said by the august personages and my humble self in connection with the letter in question at the interview, it is scarcely necessary to say I am not violating any confidence. The interview was neither expressly nor by implication understood to involve any secrecy, and even had it been otherwise, the Chief Secretary's letter to me, alluded to above, removes any seal of privacy that may by any stretch of imagination be taken as attaching to what transpired at the interview.

To return to what fell from His Excellency on the special point dealt with here. The very first words, addressed to me in a tone which I most respectfully venture to describe as plainly exhibiting much temper, were in regard to the letter. I felt I was being treated harshly and not fairly, for I was there to discuss political reforms and not to answer to a charge of misconduct in addressing the President of the United States, and

I felt that I should not have been taken so unawares and made to defend myself without the least previous consideration and reflection. I did not, however, think it right to protest against the course adopted by His Excellency, but unreservedly placed before him that explanation which it was in my power, on the spur of the moment, to offer on the subject. In short, I told His Excellency that I found myself in a very peculiar position at the time the letter was written, and in addressing it I acted entirely *bona fide*, and in the hope of securing through the influence of the President of the great nation that was in perfect amity with His Majesty the King-Emperor, nay more, in utter sympathy with the aims and objects of the Allies' cause, that relief which we Home Rulers then stood imperatively in need of. I told His Excellency our position was this: Of the four chief officials of the Home Rule League, three of them, namely, Mrs. Besant, the President, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, the Secretary and Treasurer, had been interned in the course of that very week, and the fourth official, myself, as Honorary President, every moment expected to be dealt with by the Local Government in a similar fashion; that it was widely believed that the action of the Government in the matter had the sanction of His Excellency, and possibly of the then Secretary of State. I urged, with all deference, that it was hardly otherwise than natural and fair and just

that I should avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the visit just then intended to be made by Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner to America, where I knew they had influential friends who would and could interest themselves in the welfare of India and her people, and in particular, exert themselves towards the release of Mrs. Besant, well-known throughout that Continent and held in high estimation by many thousands among the citizens of that free American nation. I added that if it were necessary I could substantiate every important allegation in the letter as regards the defects of the rule in this country by unimpeachable evidence, and offered to submit to His Excellency, if permitted, copies of certain letters then in my possession as regards the inhuman treatment to which the interned in Bengal were systematically subjected, as a proof in support of one of the points urged in the letter with special reference to which His Excellency expressed his strong condemnation.

MADRAS CHIEF SECRETARY'S LETTER.

It is unnecessary to enter into further details. Suffice it to say that His Excellency conveyed his displeasure at my conduct in the most unmistakable manner in the presence of, and with the express approval of, the Secretary of State, and acting, if I may say so, on behalf of the latter also

for the moment. Of what took place subsequently between the Indian Government and the Madras Government in relation to my letter I am unaware, save the intimation which I received from the Chief Secretary in a letter which runs as follows:

FORT ST. GEORGE,
MADRAS, 8-2-1918.

D. O.

DEAR SIR,—His Excellency the Governor-in-Council has recently been placed in possession of printed copies of a letter purporting to have been sent by you to the address of the President of the United States. The letter is dated the 24th June, 1917, and contains the statement that it was transmitted through the agency of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner (who are known to have left India within a few days of the date), on the ground that it would never have reached the addressee "if sent by Mail". It has been intimated to His Excellency-in-Council that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State personally questioned and rebuked you for your conduct in this matter. In these circumstances, His Excellency-in-Council has decided to take no further action.

Yours faithfully
(Sd.) LIONEL DAVIDSON,
Acting Chief Secretary.

Mr. Montagu "A Tool in the Hands" of Others.

One would think that this letter put an end to the matter. Unfortunately, however, things are shaping themselves in a way hopelessly injurious to the interests of the Empire in special reference to India under the unwise guidance of the War Cabinet, and obviously, the Secretary of State, who, whatever his original impulses, very shortly after his arrival in this country, became a pitiable prey to the machinations of the bureaucracy, Anglo-Indians and Sydenhamites, found himself incapable of acting with that dignity and responsibility befitting a Minister of the Crown at this critical juncture, and is apparently a tool in the hands of those who are exerting so baneful an influence upon him since his return to his place in the Cabinet. Such is the inevitable conclusion which the events of the 3rd of June point to.

"I Waive all Opposition to Future Action".

Now it was admitted by His Excellency in the course of my interview with him that my letter to the President had been forwarded by the Cabinet to him some time previously. The Secretary of State could not therefore have been ignorant of the fact at the time of such transmission. Assuming that he was ignorant of it at

first, he subsequently was a party to the rebuke administered to me, in the language of the Chief Secretary's letter, by His Excellency and the Secretary of State also. Surely it is impossible to believe that the Chief Secretary's letter expressing the final decision of the authorities on the subject could have emanated without the full consent and sanction of the Viceroy, and the Secretary of State likewise. Be this as it may, it is only right that I should add that I do not for a moment intend to claim any exemption on the score of that letter from any action which may be taken in furtherance of the Secretary of State's answer on the 3rd instant. I waive all opposition to such future action if any. I go further and say that I court it with that eagerness and sincerity which my duty to the Motherland demands of me. It is superfluous to say that the case involves nothing personal, and that my cause is the cause of the whole country. In furtherance of that cause, all that is mine—my name, my liberty and everything else—must be sacrificed and willingly sacrificed. Internment or externment, deportation and the like, have no terror for me: and, at this time of my life, with no earthly expectations to realise, I feel I can have no more glorious fate to meet in pursuance of gaining Home Rule for India, than to become an object of official tyranny.

My View of the Situation.

The view I take of the situation is this: The internments of June last year were a step designed by those unseen spiritual Powers who are seeking to uplift India and save the British Empire from certain destruction by the unwise rule of the bureaucracy here and elsewhere. That step had the intended effect to a certain extent. It roused the country as nothing else could have done to a sense of its duty. It is evident, however, that we were lapsing into a stupor inimical to all our best interests, and a further rousing is necessary. In all humility I take it I am the fortunate person, autocratic action against whom would afford the necessary stimulus now needed again.

I most earnestly hope that this view of the situation will commend itself to the minds of my countrymen throughout the length and breadth of the land, and make them once more rally round the standard of liberty for India as an integral part of the Empire, and persist in that ceaseless agitation on constitutional lines, and only on those lines, until the goal is won or lost, which latter contingency can come about only with the disruption of the British Empire, and solely through the inconceivable folly of those who are guiding its destinies at this hour of peril.

It only remains to add that I would be descending to a level that decency would prohibit were I to bandy words with the Secretary of State with reference to the ungracious and ungraceful language, which he thought fit to employ in replying to Mr. Hicks' question—language which I am afraid was prompted altogether by petty party tactics. Surely he could have fully and adequately discharged his duty and with candour had he told the House what had been done when he was in this country by way of censuring me.

I must, however, not flinch from protesting against the view that there was anything in my position, past or present, that in the slightest degree rendered it discreditable to me to submit my representation to President Wilson.

"Most Happy to Renounce the Knighthood".

The telegraphic summary which alone is before me throws no light on what the Secretary of State had in mind in referring to my position in the course of his remarks. If it was my membership as a Knight Companion of the Indian Order that he was thinking of, all I can say is none can agree with him in supposing that the possession of this title debars me from criticising misrule in this country. It is worthy of remark that titles like these are conferred on His Majesty's

Indian subjects without their consent, and, however unwilling one may be to become the recipient of these official favours, etiquette, as understood in this country, precludes him from refusing to accept them. For my own part I shall be most happy to renounce this Knight Companionship and return at once the insignia thereof which on my death my heirs have to return, or remit the value thereof, if the retention of the title and the insignia should in any way hinder the exercise of my right of citizenship to complain of wrongs and seek redress against the consequences of mal-administration.

THE HISTORY OF MY KNIGHTHOOD.

I doubt whether even half a dozen among my friends or enemies now know the history of my Knighthood. Needless to say it was not a reward for any liberal use of wealth which is the royal road to such distinctions, for the simple reason that I have never had money enough to make such use or show of it. Nor was it the reward for any special service, public or private, but due to a mere accident, if I may put it so. Having acted as Chief Justice for a month and a half about August, 1899, on the retirement of Sir Arthur Collins, the announcement of the honour in my case followed on the 1st of January next as a simple matter of official routine, it being the practice to make every Indian High Court Judge that officiates as a Chief Justice for however short a time, a

Knight, as compensation, I take it, for the disability of such Judges to be permanent Chief Justices. How I came into possession of the insignia of the Order is also worth chronicling. Later on, when I was on leave and was staying in my cottage on the Palni Hills, I was called upon to state when and how I wished to receive the insignia I replied to the effect that it would be most convenient to me to get it through the post. This was apparently unacceptable to the official that had to dispose of the matter, and one morning the acting Collector of the District came in with his peon and unostentatiously handed me the little casket that contained them. I was thus saved undergoing the ordeal which now awaits most of the members of my order. Such are the facts of my Knighthood, which it will so gladden the heart of the Editor of the "Mail" to see me deprived of, and disgraced.

I would respectfully suggest to him to devote the next article on the subject that he should therein formulate the process by which my dis-knighting should be carried out. A Durbar, of course, would be indispensable as well as a mourning costume to be worn on such an occasion. The rest I humbly leave to the ingenious brain of the Editor, among whose many noble qualities refinement and courtesy, non-vindictiveness and Christian charity, are not the least prominent.

The Truth about Titles.

I believe the truth about these titles was never more tellingly expressed than in an incident described in a book on Sweden which I read long ago. When titles were first introduced in that country, two friends who had just received them met and exchanged congratulations. Then one of them put to the other the questions "Brother, is your shadow longer now?" The thoughtful silence which ensued furnishes the necessary answer.

One cannot help observing that, among Western inventions, none operates more seductively and to the detriment of public interests than these titles. They will verily be a delusion and a snare to be sedulously avoided by every honest man, if by accepting them he is to be debarred from the legitimate exercise of his civic rights.

My Pension.

Next, if what the Secretary of State had in mind with reference to my position, the receipt of a pension by me, my answer is equally strong and clear. In the first place, the payment is made to me out of the revenues of the land of my birth and not from any foreign sources. In the next place, neither the original grant of it nor its continuance depended or depends on the goodwill and pleasure of any individual or any executive body. The right to the pension accrued under the authority of a statute of

the Imperial Parliament, and none can deprive me of it save by legislation of that same Parliament.

It may not be out of place to add that in retiring on the partial pension which I receive now, I acted with a sense of duty that should protect me against taunts like those made in the columns of certain Anglo-Indian journals with special reference to my being a pensioner. For, had I only thought of my own personal interest and continued to serve but eight months more, two of which would have been vacation time, I should be drawing the substantial sum of Rs. 5,000 per annum more than I do now. But I preferred to act otherwise, lest the discharge of my duties as Judge, even during that short period, should be in any way inefficient, and sent in my resignation notwithstanding the despatch of the then Secretary of State which entitled me to put in that additional service as a special case.

Lastly, I say that I would more readily lose my pension than deprive myself, by reason of my continuing to draw it, of any right of my citizenship. And I say to writers in the Anglo-Indian journals who throw taunts at me with reference to my pension, that I do not mind in the least if they could succeed, in depriving me of the wages which I am enjoying as the fruit of the most laborious and conscientious discharge of my duties as a Judge in the highest Court in the land, and leaving me to

find my own food and raiment. Let them know that these I shall get from that association of Sannyasins with whom I stand related, which entitle me to their care and protection, and therefore no pretended humane sentiments need deter my detractors from depriving me of my life-provision by the State. Let me add that that association is not the Theosophical Society, the present President whereof has been atrociously libelled as receiving vile German gold.

SIR J. D. REES.

Just a line by way of a postscript in reference to Sir John Rees' observation that my letter was a senile effusion.* He reminds me of a felicitous remark of Sir Fitz James Stephen: "Artful liars tell probable falsehoods". Undeniably the Honourable Member's suggestion as to my alleged senility is an absolute falsehood, thought to be probable only because of my age. I venture to say that my intellect was never more acute or clear, and in the suggestion to the contrary, there is as little truth as in the suggestion that the Hon. Member's career in the House of Commons, from its commencement down to this day was ever marked by sanity and good sense.—(*New India.*)

IV

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

[*A public meeting was held on 16-6-18, in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, to celebrate the Home Rule Day, Sir S. Subramania Iyer presiding. The following are extracts from his speech as reported in the* HINDU. *The last paragraph is the concluding portion in bringing the proceedings to a close*:—]

The Chairman who rose amidst loud and vociferous cheers first informed the audience that he had not had sufficient time to write out his speech so that the same might be read by Mr Wadia with his stentorian voice and requested them to be very indulgent to him if his voice did not reach them all. He was sure that they, in their true spirit of devotion and friendliness to him, would understand what was passing in his mind. On the question of the suitability of the 16th June for that meeting he said that although 3rd September was the birthday of the Home Rule League, that day would certainly have been extinguished but for the 16th June last year and the internments that took place. Whether Home Rule was a subject on which people could lawfully discuss and whether it was a claim which they as citizens of the British Empire could put

forward as a right was the very question at issue. It was Lord Pentland's speech which led to all the events that took place. It was the internment and the agitation that followed which established people's rights to claim Home Rule. The 16th June was the true birthday of the Home Rule League; it was not true that the three interned wanted to make the matter a personal one by selfishly claiming the 16th June as the birthday of Home Rule League. He knew full well that personality was extinct in the three interned.

The next point is one on which I have anticipated what I wanted to address you in a way in my letter which has already appeared in the newspapers. What is uppermost in my mind is that every one of you should reflect meditate and realise the greatness and the importance of the occasion and the seriousness of the time we are entering upon. If the 16th of June last year was very important this 16th of June and what follows the period we are going through is even of greater significance. Because last year it was repression that was going to be on the ascendant but it was put an end to for the time and now it seems to me that the policy of repression is putting its head forward and it is trying to reappear and it is going to reappear with much greater venom and greater capacity for injury than it did last year. After the experience of the difficulties in their way Government are prepared

and are trying to do their work more effectually if possible. No authority has distinctly pronounced upon anything in terms which will support my view. But none of you can fail to see that this is so. Take for instance the article in the " Madras Mail" regarding my letter to the President of the United States. The purport of the article is not to attack me or any one else. The writer is availing himself of the suggestion as to my senilty, grants that I am a man who has lost his power of correct thinking, but asks why should people who follow me claim that kind of immunity from incapacity to right thinking and judging. He therefore says that it is absolutely necessary to exterminate this movement for Home Rule. It is that which he sounds a note through that article. You may rest assured that he would not have put forward any such idea without knowing what great support he has in official quarters.

The next point is what is it you wish us to do. I put forward only my own personal view. Many of you may say agitation and my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Ramanujachariar has referred to unceasing agitation. No doubt that is all right. But agitation by itself, any amount of newspaper writing is of very little use and is not sufficient. What is wanted is conduct which shows our resolutions to stand by our claims. I am absolutely in earnest when I say that our work must be thoroughly constitutional.

You say that agitation is the only thing which you can make constitutionally in order to enforce your claim. There is something more and that is passive resistance. (Hear, Hear and Loud Cheers). The reason why I lay stress upon this is this. I am among those who hold that shedding blood even to a drop would absolutely destroy our cause. We are dealing not with people whom we see, as my letter must have shown and as my repeated addresses must have shown, but we are among those spiritual unseen powers guiding us. Shedding of blood or violence is a thing which they hate. Even in pursuance of our demand for Home Rule if we do any thing which would partake of violence their support will be lost and we shall perish. If therefore violence is to be avoided and if newspaper discussion, or verbal discussion alone will not do what is it that will help us. It is passive resistance. As regards this there seems to be much misconception. Some people have gone to the length of suggesting "suppose Mr. Montagu's scheme has come. It permits some of us to get into the legislature and we do not get the Congress demand. What is the meaning of passive resistance? Is it our duty to stay away?" This is an absurd thing. When a subject of His Majesty is restrained by show of authority from doing a perfectly lawful and just thing, then passive resistance comes into existence. When we are trying to do a thing perfectly lawful and when that

thing is tried to be put an end to by autocratic oppression and tyranny, we are prepared to suffer any punishment and jails have no terror for us. That is true passive resistance. If you can find in India 2000 men who can follow the example of Mr. Gandhi and of those ignorant but manly ryots of Kaira, India's Home Rule would be won that very day. What is wanted is young men and even old men ready to adopt this passive resistance under guidance of really trust-worthy leaders. The moment that this view as to our conduct takes the serious hold of our country that moment Home Rule is granted. It seems to me that judging from the state of affairs everywhere in the world our goal is not going to be won easily. There seems to be something in the mind of 90 per cent of the humanity which may be said to be partaking of the very highest form of hypocricy. You find every public man in Europe saying "we are for the liberty of small nations and for their self-determination in their administration." Practically judging from the conduct which follows the declaration seems to me meaningless. They do not attempt to prove one actual fact which may be said to be reasonable evidence of their willingness to accept self-determination as the rule of conduct. All that is vain talk, pretension. Therefore it is I say you are going to have a very difficult task. When they talk of self-determination you will find India

especially systematically, and advisedly put out as it were not a part of the world. Here lies the best proof, if you want to allow self-determination in reality, give us proof of that in India. We do not demand very much even now. We do not want to turn out all the administrative authorities and put an end to the existing system of Government. We say "give us a statutory declaration, promising us Home Rule at a definite period and then take the steps which you intend to take gradually before you give the genuine Home Rule."

I think I may offer a few remarks considering that the hour is not late. I cannot but feel most grateful to those who have been so good as to refer to me in such complimentary words. I hope that you will not allow the idea of an address to me to take shape. Nothing is more distasteful to me than to become an object of a formal complimentary demonstration. It is quite sufficient that you have given expression to your friendly feelings and sentiments. As the matter is not one really personal as I have already said in my letter and as it is one connected with the nation as a whole I ask you not to do anything of the kind suggested however kindly your intentions towards me may be. But then you may ask me "we are so desirous of honouring you. What can we do in connection with it and what is it that you want." I will tell you what it is that will most please me. In doing so I may refer to an in-

cident which took place in the early days of my practice when one of our greatest advocates Mr. Mayne was arguing a great case (the Ramnad adoption suit) before Mr. Justice Holloway, one of the most learned and erudite of our judges. Mr. Mayne was drawing certain distinctions in the course of his argument which the learned judge was criticising and finally observed that Mr. Mayne's distinctions were so fine as to justify the "lines in the partitions do they bound divide." Mr. Mayne rejoined with that readiness which was quite characteristic of him and said: "My Lord it may be so but the line is the their red line of Balaclava." What I want you to do is this. I would very much like to minimise the difficulty which the leaders are supposed to be labouring under in connection with their following. That following cannot be the same always; it may either increase or decrease. But there must be some body of men who would go to the bitter end along with their leaders and fight to a finish as did the handful brave Balaclava wallas. I would like to form a sub-league in the Home Rule League (*i. e.*,) the league of the red line wallas. We have examples before us of gentlemen who will go to make up that body. Mr. Ramanujachari whose letter you have just heard is one such and he was one of the three who signed the memorable pledge in June last to stand by Mrs. Besant in those trying days. There are other such men who are great

examples—I mean those who walked out of the Bombay War Conference when H. E. Lord Willingdon tried to shut their mouths. If we have a handful of men in every province who would follow their leaders to the bitter end then our success will be taken as ensured. You must try and gather such a handful and if you will only do that and form a reliable body of men or leaders to work with that alone would satisfy me. That will give me the utmost satisfaction. I now declare the meeting closed.

TITLES RENOUNCED.

[*Sir S. Subramania Aiyar wrote also to the Press on 20-6-18* :—]

I have this day addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras the following letter:—

From S. Subramania Aiyar, Beach House Mylapore, Madras, June 20, 1918.

To the Hon'ble Mr. Lionel Davidson, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Fort St. George.

Sir,

I beg to forward by insured post to-day the insignia received by me on my being made K. C. I.E., and the Dewan Bahadur medal, and request you will be pleased to acknowledge the same.

I do so, as under present circumstances I feel it impossible to continue to avail myself of the honour of being the holder of such a title, or of that of Dewan Bahadur.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

(Sd.) S. SUBRAMANIAM

The renunciation of the two titles I hold, is rendered necessary by my belief that the language employed by the Secretary of State on the 3rd instant in reply to the question by Mr. Joyson Hicks, was partly due to my being the holder of the title of Knight Companion of the Indian Empire. After the contemptuous terms which so responsible a minister of the Crown thought fit to use towards me from his place in the House of Commons, it is impossible for me with any self-respect, to continue to avail myself of the honour of being a title-holder.

I therefore feel compelled to renounce my titles of K. C. I. E. and Dewan Bahadur.

I have accordingly resolved not to receive any communications addressed to me in future, with the prefix Sir and the affix K. C. I E. or Dewan Bahadur. and hereby intimate such resolution to my correspondents.

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